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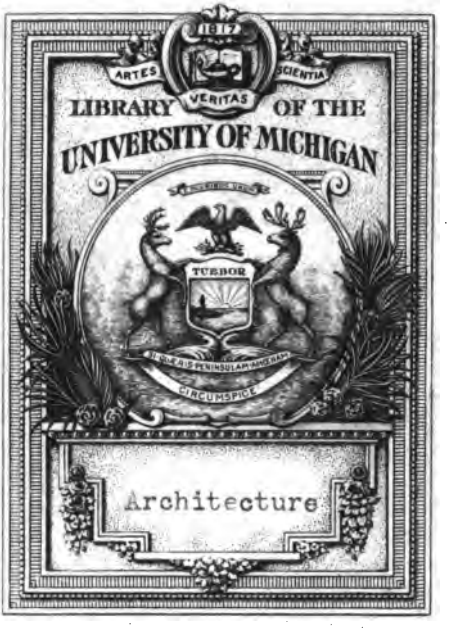

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VENICE

Part III, Volume II

VENICE

BY

POMPEO MOLMENTI

Translated from the Italian by
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and Around Venice," etc.

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THE Arrival of Caterina Cornaro in Venice (1489). Detail of a painting by Antonio Vassilacchi (1556–1629) showing costumes of his own time.

(*Venice, Museo Civico*)

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Part III — [illegible]

Volume II

CHICAGO

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VENICE

ITS INDIVIDUAL GROWTH FROM THE EARLIEST BEGINNINGS TO THE FALL OF THE REPUBLIC

BY
POMPEO MOLMENTI

TRANSLATED BY HORATIO F. BROWN

PART III — THE DECADENCE

VOLUME II

CHICAGO
A. C. McCLURG & CO.
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VENICE IN THE DECADENCE

CHAPTER IX

THE NEW STYLE IN THE DECORATION OF PALACES — THE GONDOLA

THE decoration of the houses belonging to the aristocracy during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries is in perfect accord with the dress and the personal adornments of the epoch. There is an intimate connection between the picture and its setting; the strongly marked, emphatic decoration of the Seicento is in harmony with those superb dames of haughty carriage, in massive robes of velvet or of gold brocade, with their exaggerated head-dresses, just as the elegance and refinement of decorative art in the Settecento correspond to the graceful ladies, all ribbons, braid, lace, and veils, sweeping through their beautiful chambers in gowns of flowered silk, and whose shoes with the high red heels pattered on the shining pavements of their halls.

Barocco left its characteristic imprint on Venetian decoration. But at the opening of the new era the artists who were still under the influence of their immediate predecessors, though beginning at the same time to feel the stir of new ideas, evolved a mixed or transitional style, which, however, had almost disappeared by the middle of the Seicento, when *barocco* asserted its full authority and not only impressed its superb grandiosity on the external architectural designs and on the façades, but invaded the interior of edifices, chiefly ecclesiastical, as well. The liturgy of the

Catholic Church, after the Council of Trent, found its congenial expression in pomp and exaggeration, and in that mania for the theatrical which attempts to reach the spirit through the senses. The churches were transformed into vast halls, decorated with an ostentation which excluded, or at least hindered, the religious sentiment. Longhena, for example, lavishes all the wealth of his exuberant fancy on the interior of the Scalzi, gleaming with variegated marbles, adorned with festoons and amorini, in the midst of which rises the high altar, designed in contorted and convulsive lines by the Carmelite Father Giuseppe Pozzo. The interior of the Gesuiti (1715–1728), designed by Domenico Rossi, displays a like unbalanced caprice; coloured marbles imitate drapery; gold is spread over the ceiling, which is surcharged with bizarre stucco work. It is true that *barocco* invaded the older churches too, but without disturbing their harmony. For instance, under the austere arches of SS. Giovanni e Paolo the style has left its traces in the chapel of San Domenico, in the monument of the Valier designed by Tirali, and in the high altar by Matteo Carnéro. The same tendency makes itself felt in the decoration of patrician houses, in the furniture, the utensils, the bronzes, plate, ivories, glass, — in short, in all the objects of domestic luxury.

But in Venice *barocco*, and later on *rococò*, are stamped by a vitality and originality all their own, not so much in the architecture as in the decoration of the houses. The straight line, with its suggestion of strong will, disappears from the chambers, and its place is taken by volutes, flourishes, scrolls, waving lines, which grow ever more and more pronounced, and seem to correspond to that unrest, indecision, confusion, which is the note of the epoch reluctant to bridle its passions. *Barocco* decorators did not confine their work to new and sumptuous buildings, like the Palazzo Pesaro or the Palazzo Rezzonico; they

CEILING in the Palazzo Pesaro (1682)

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invaded the more ancient buildings as well, and the austerity of the original façades contrasts strangely with the florid taste which modified the chambers within. Even where, by some rare chance, a little garden spread its greenery by the side of a Gothic or Lombardesque palace, letting the warm brown of the brickwork appear through the branches, a new style of gardening was introduced, — box trees cut into strange forms, climbing roses trailing over the walls, flowers of every species and colour in the borders. Marble groups of suggestive subjects in violent movement, nymphs and goddesses with arms outstretched in invitation, rose among green and flowering shrubs; the gateways displayed elaborate wrought-iron gates with coats of arms and coronets.

The entrance halls of the old palaces, where by the side of the painted wooden benches stood trophies of pikes and halberds, the great lanterns of the galleys, and the huge armorial bearings of the family, produced a chilly feeling of melancholy in a generation steeped in luxury, who preferred to promenade in ample courtyards and colonnades of marble, such as are to be seen in the Pesaro and Rezzonico palaces, built by Longhena in the Seicento, or in the Palazzo Grassi, by Domenico Rossi, or the Palazzo Cornaro della Regina by Massari, both belonging to the eighteenth century. Martinioni, in his *Aggiunte* to the *Venetia* of Sansovino, published in 1663, cites other courts and vestibules which no longer exist, and records how the taste of the day tended to transform gardens into sumptuous cortiles adorned with statues and filled with the perfume of *delitiose piante*. Such was the famous garden of the Morosini at San Canciano, "which was uprooted and paved in brick, with a beautiful pattern in white marble running through it, so that the whole garden was turned into a spacious cortile surrounded by lofty and handsome buildings." [1]

[1] *Venetia nobilissima*, ed. 1663, p. 391.

The old dark and narrow staircases which led to the public apartments gave way to magnificent and grandiose flights of steps, such as those of the Palazzo Sagredo, designed by Tirali, or of the Palazzo Rezzonico, the work of Longhena, who also erected the grand staircase in the monastery of San Giorgio Maggiore (1644), which is remarkable for its grace of line.

In the internal decoration a greater display of pomp, which had now become a law more rigidly observed than governmental decrees, took the place of the severer splendours of the Cinquecento. The chief medium of the new art was stucco. Malleable and obedient to the pressure of the hurrying hand, it lent itself admirably to the inventive caprice of the artist and to the leafy richness of the decorative style. Already by the close of the Seicento the ceilings and walls of the Ducal Palace had been adorned with splendid stucco work; the vault of the Scala d'oro was admirably designed by Alessandro Vittoria, who decorated Sansovino's Library with a still finer scheme. But the boldness of this great master degenerated, in his followers and imitators, into exaggerated audacity, though even so their work was not lacking in a certain grandiosity and grace. From the cornice the stucco springs away and covers the whole ceiling with an exuberance of foliage and scroll work. Sometimes, amid flowers and foliage, flourishes and scrolls, ribbons and bows, there opens out, in the middle of the ceiling, a great frame of stucco enclosing a painting, in which muscular deities and provocative nymphs are confused in a writhing mass of forms. At other times the ceiling curves and spreads downward like a canopy held up by a rout of amorini and chubby Cupids. Again, the architect of the Seicento would leave untouched the construction and the mouldings of the Renaissance, but would fill in the compartments of the ceiling with masks, monsters, bosses, scrolls, fruit and flowers, carved in wood left natural or gilded.

A Stairway designed by Longhena in the Convent of S. Giorgio Maggiore

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The walls, even under these *barocco* cornices and ceilings, sometimes continued to keep their arras hangings, their stamped leather, their damasks and cut velvets, or their paintings placed all round the apartment. The Sala del Collegio, designed by Antonio da Ponte, in the Ducal Palace was a frequent model for mural decoration, but the cornices, the jambs, and lintels of the doorways were still further enriched by curves, broken arches, and volutes. Still more audacious innovators threw to the winds all traditions of the earlier style in the moulding of cornices and doorways; they sought only sinuous and broken lines which should be in keeping with the decoration and followed only one law, the search for theatrical effect. Martinioni, speaking of "the more memorable buildings now in course of construction," mentions the Palazzo Cornaro Piscopia at San Luca, "rebuilt in some parts, and adorned with noble chambers decorated by handsome cornices of beautiful design and fine moulding." He speaks also of the Palazzo Widmann at San Canciano, "notable for the number of its rooms, its magnificent halls, and the statues, pictures, and other precious objects it contained"; so, too, the Palazzo Tiepolo at San Felice, "modernized, decorated and furnished with handsome fittings and excellent pictures"; of the Palazzo Basadonna at Santi Gervasio e Protasio, "erected a few years earlier, from a noble design, very conveniently laid out and well decorated"; the Palazzo Zorzi at San Basilio, "with remarkably fine rooms and decoration."

He describes at greater length the Palace of Count Giacomo Cavazza at Santa Lucia. Cavazza was ennobled in 1653 and employed by the Republic on missions to various foreign courts. Let us hear Martinioni himself give an account of this palace, for certain descriptions gain in truth and veracity when rehearsed by a contemporary in the style of his day. "This palace," he says, "though it strikes one as rather

small, nevertheless consists of three stories; besides the *mezzanino* it has fine and lofty chambers; the middle floor is enriched with doorways adorned with friezes and jambs in black and white marble, and scrolls in paragone marble of Bergamo; the chimney-pieces are covered in excellent stucco work, and the rest of the apartment is of a similar refinement; the furniture is such as becomes the house of a private gentleman. The third floor, also well furnished, commands a wide view over two stretches of the lagoon. But the point which distinguishes this palace from all others is the apartment on the ground floor, admirably arranged; the space usually devoted to domestic offices has been turned into charming saloons, and the portico that leads to them has been embellished with five rows of precious sculptures. In fact, when one enters, both eye and spirit are fascinated no less by the pure white of the vaulting of great height, and by its decoration of stucco festoons and figures and other beauties, than by the splendour of the fittings and the great variety of artistic objects on all sides. To the right and left in the niches are statues, and between these on brackets stand heads and busts. A little further on are oval panels of cypress wood painted by the best masters of this city, such as the Cavaliere Liberi, Pietro Vecchia, Ruschi, and others. A carved frieze runs all round, and below it are bas-reliefs of great value, exquisite antiques on pedestals, great canvases by master hands, while a little higher up are four life-size figures by Giorgione, most carefully executed; under the windows are other reliefs, and octagonal pendants descend from the cornice. In a great niche to the right is a Neptune with a dolphin at his feet, while on the ground stand two lions in precious marble. Opposite, to the left, out of the straight line of the gallery, where there is an octangular well of Verona marble surrounded by vases with myrtles, a double flight of stairs forms an

A Salon in the Palazzo Calbo-Crotta

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open space converted into a grotto, with incrustation on its walls formed of pebbles and sea shells of every kind and colour, which are in themselves a delight to the eye and enchant one by the skill with which they are arranged and for the various figures, even human, which they compose. Opposite the niche which holds the Neptune is another, all inlaid with mother-of-pearl, which shelters a group of two figures, Venus and Adonis in embrace, beautifully executed. The whole grotto is enclosed in iron railings with gilded lilies, so that no touch of refinement should be wanting, — a refinement and rarity displayed also in the velvet-covered settees and chairs, in the portières of double velvet, draping the doors of the long suite of rooms. The gallery ends in a hall with six niches, six doors, and four windows, all stuccoed in white with roundels of white and red French marble connected by festoons. Upon tables of paragone and of ebony inlaid with ivory stand specimens of ancient and modern sculpture, well-cast bronzes, and other rarities. The space of one of the doors is artistically filled with four great mirrors, each in six squares, with gilded metal frames. . . . Next comes a loggia with columns and cornices of Verona marble, called *mandolato;* the ceiling is in stucco, and all round are scenes painted in gouache; above these come pictures of birds, flowers, fruit, and game with Florentine mosaics of lapis lazuli and other precious stones. You can leave this loggia by great windows which will shut, and you pass into a court-yard decorated by Brescian artists [1] and green with great orange trees, Three handsomely carved doors open into the last apartment, which is vaulted in brick, the ceiling being divided into compartments and stuccoed, while stucco-fluted columns with five niches

[1] In the seventeenth century the Brescian artists were famous for their architectural designs which they painted on the walls of courtyards. Many palaces in Brescia are so decorated with long architectural perspectives.

between them complete the decoration." In these niches were statues, and on the walls two great pictures representing Diana at the bath and Andromeda on the rock, painted by the Chevalier Francesco Corio of Varese (d. 1674), also some fancy designs by Corio and Josef Ens of Augsburg.

Of all this wealth of art nothing now remains to us but the rude phrases of Martinioni, and amid the havoc and changes wrought by man and by time we can find only here and there scattered traces of all this past magnificence. In the Palazzo Pesaro is a ceiling of the Seicento, with carved compartments, very well preserved. The centre is filled by a picture representing the Triumph of Venice, enclosed in an oval frame, which is designed in harmony with the other divisions of the roof, decorated with angels, amorini, and foliage, in the midst of which are the arms of the Pesaro family. The other divisions also contain paintings and the following inscription: "Leonardus Pisaurus D. Marci. Procurat. Condidit et ornavit A. D. MDCLXXXII." The ceiling rests on an ample cornice carried on brackets; below the cornice comes a frieze of twelve paintings with allegorical figures and portraits; a half-length figure standing up, in a red gown bordered with ermine, probably represents Leonardo Pesaro himself.

The Palazzo Albrizzi at Sant' Apollinare gives us a complete and beautiful example of Seicento decoration. The palace belonged to the citizen family of Bonomo and was built towards the close of the sixteenth century. In 1648 half of it, perhaps the *piano nobile*, was acquired by the Albrizzi, and the rest in 1692. The old Cinquecento Palace, of which one room still remains, was entirely remodelled inside and transformed by magnificent and fantastic decoration, ordered certainly after the year 1667, at which date the Albrizzi were admitted to the Patriciate. As a matter of fact the arms of the Albrizzi in the entrance hall and the stucco frames

THE Salon *dei Putti* in the Palazzo Albrizzi at S. Apollinare

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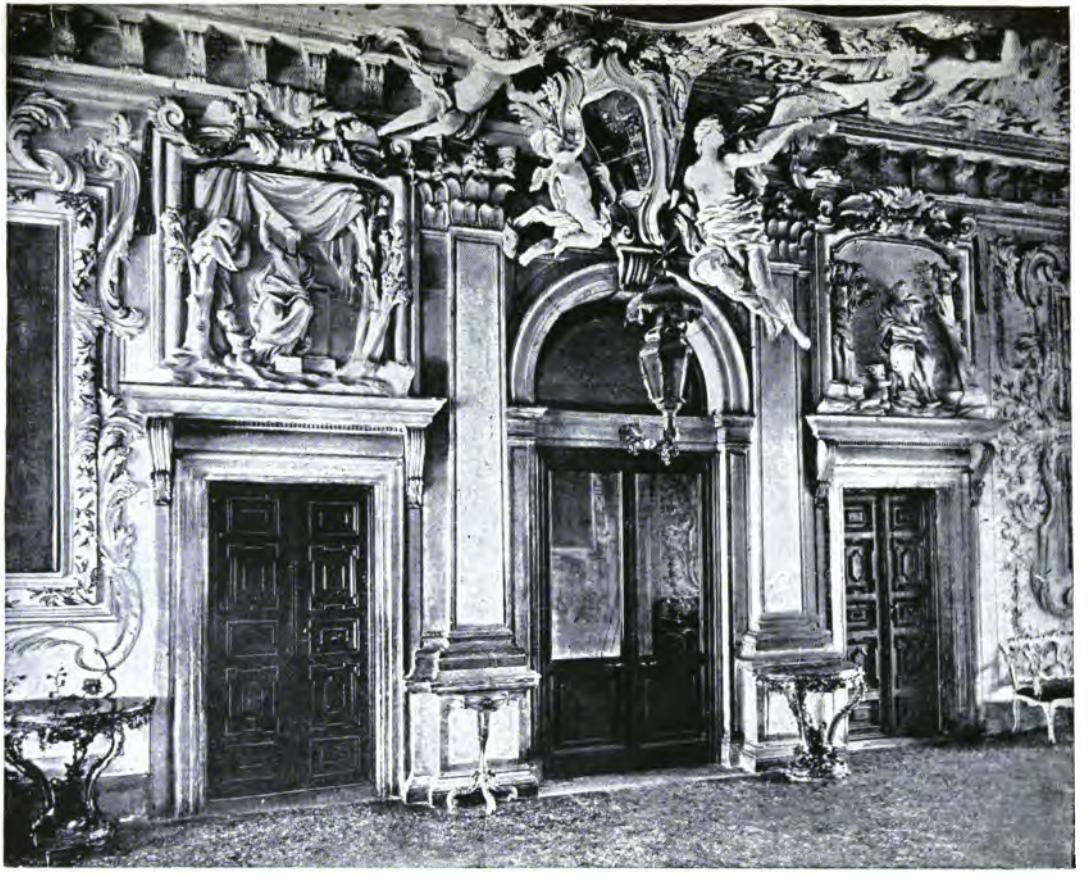
for the beautiful allegorical scenes painted by Liberi and Luca Giordano, belong to the same date as these pictures, that is to say, the year 1670 or thereabouts. The stucco work is heavy, it is true, but judged by the ideas of that epoch, we must recognise both the genius and the fine taste of the unknown artists, who drew their inspiration from the work of Alessandro Vittoria. The staircase, which is neither wide nor handsome, leads up to the central saloon, with doors and ceiling decorated with rich ornamentation. Around the doorways of Istrian stone, carved in classical lines by stonecutters of the sixteenth century, the stucco-workers of the following century modelled their foliage and capricious volutes. On the ceiling and above the doors amorini and figures in high relief stand out in graceful poses. In the reception-rooms these anonymous artists lavished their inventive genius in a rich and graceful scheme of decoration. Among others there is one square chamber which is a veritable poet's dream. The ceiling represents a great curtain; it starts from an octagonal ornament in the centre, covers the entire surface and is caught up at the angles by eight colossal figures, and in the middle by four and twenty beautifully modelled cherubs, who in various attitudes are flying or dancing, or hiding under the folds of the canopy, which are skilfully and ingeniously indicated. This joyous rout is, perhaps, the most vivacious scheme of decoration that ever passed through an artist's brain; the style betrays the work of the Secentisti. The next room is clearly designed by modellers of the following century.

Furniture, following the style of decoration employed on ceilings and walls, was also gradually modified. Cabinets which imitated architectural designs, and had come into fashion at the close of the Cinquecento, became exaggerated in that respect, and often appear to be little models of palaces or churches, with their doors,

windows, pediments, columns, attics, and brackets. Pieces of furniture in ebony, mahogany, walnut, were enriched with precious stones or plaques of porcelain, crystal, ivory, mosaic, or bronze. Inlayers, mosaicists, bronze-founders, engravers, and potters were all associated with the cabinet-maker in his trade.[1] But the restless genius of the artificer found a more ready expression in carving than in this scheme of polychromatic inlaying of furniture; the gouge flies along under the eager hand and carves on the wood — often half by accident — the teeming fancies of the artist's brain. Frames, tables, lockers, cupboards, beds, chairs, stools, cabinets all are adorned with strange patterns, in arabesque, leaves, sprays, tendrils, birds, animals, figures of chimæras and sphinxes. This was a style which attracted strong though undisciplined natures, and it gives its special character to the work of Francesco Pianta, the creator of the fantastic row of stalls in the great hall of the Scuola di San Rocco, and that still more extravagant production the clock-frame preserved in the Sacristy of the Frari. Under such a flood of ornamentation it was natural that furniture soon became

[1] Ercole Udine, the Duke of Mantua's Ambassador in Venice, mentions, in 1603, ebonists who turned out furniture *lustro come specchio;* for instance, six chests *con profili di avorii di forme quadrate*, which had each of them three niches with ivory figures of Jove, Venus and other heathen deities; also a bed with its sides reaching down to the ground. "Sorgeva da ciascun angolo della lettiera a guisa di colonna un bel vaso di figura di pero tutto profilato a lungo ma excellentissimamente." Bertolotti, *Le Arti Min.*, cit., in the *Arch. Stor. Lomb.*, V, 1001. The price asked for this furniture was seven thousand crowns. In an inventory of August 27, 1660, stating the property belonging to Gaspare Malipiero (Levi, *Collez. ven.*, cit., II, 43), we find mention of tables inlaid with precious stones: "Un tavolino tondo rimesso tutto di pietra con piedi dorati — Uno quadro di pietra pernice con piedi compagno della medesima pietra et arma Valiera nel mezzo — Uno d'alabastro, suso pietra dal tocco con piedi a colonne canalate di nogara — Un detto insoasato di pietre varie con suo piedi a colonna come sopra — Un detto rimesso Lapis lazulo, porfido et altre pietre con piedi come sopra — Doe d'ebano con pietra nera nel mezzo con piedi a colonnette — Un detto d'ebano et avorio con piede come sopra."



A Salon in the Palazzo Albrizzi at S. Apollinare

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decorative rather than useful, and the apartments were arranged for show rather than comfort.[1]

In the middle of the seventeenth century Italian decorative art began to feel the influence of France, where the *rococò* style was being evolved contemporaneously with Italian *barocco*, which it eventually dominated, though it assumed various forms according to the locality. The style called after Louis XIV (1643–1715) was launched by the flaming fantasy of Charles le Brun; it is exaggerated and pompous, but original and impressive, and is little different from the best Italian *barocco*. The style of Louis XV (1715–1774) becomes lighter and more graceful, and retains its charm till it melts into the style of Louis XVI (1774–1792), where a vein of classicism begins to make itself felt and gradually asserts itself during the last years of the century. The French claim that the style of Louis XV is more graceful than the contemporary style in Italy. If that is true of Tuscany and the South, it is not so for Milan and Turin, and above all for Liguria and Venice. France, indeed, can boast such masters in ebony and bronze as the sons of André Charles Boulle and Philippe Cafieri, Reisner, Boville, Cressent, Levasseur, Oëben, Beneman, Saunier, and others, past-masters in the decoration of furniture; but the work of Andrea Brustolon, born at Belluno (1662–1732), is no less rich in grace and fancy. He was not only an able carver of figures in wood, but he created designs for the entire wood-work

[1] Saint-Didier (*La Ville et la Rép.*, cit., p. 390) says: "Les gentilshommes se plaisent à la magnificence des meubles, on y en voit de velours à fond d'or, d'autres en broderie, avec les franges et crépines d'or, quantité de belles tables et de miroirs de grand prix." As to the discomfort of the furniture De Brosses (Lett. XVI), writing in 1739, when he must have had occasion to see many apartments furnished in the style of the Seicento, says: "Les palais sont ici d'une magnificence prodiguée sans beaucoup de goût. Il n'y a pas moins de deux cents pièces d'appartement toutes chargées de richesses dans le seul palais Foscarini; mais tout se surmarche; il n'y a pas un seul cabinet ni un fauteuil où l'on puisse s'asseoir, à cause de la délicatesse des sculptures."

decoration of churches, like that of the Chapel of the Rosario, destroyed by fire in 1867, or for domestic furniture like the chairs and consols, in ebony and box, executed for the Contarini and now in the Museo Civico, or the chairs of the Villa Pisani at Strà, now in the Royal Villa at Monza. The Cupids, admirably modelled, display vivacity of movement amid the bold curves of the decorative design, with its fauns and nymphs and chimæras. Brustolon is not quite free from the exaggerated elegances of the Seicento, but already in his work we note the delicate and refined taste which distinguished Venetian apartments in the Settecento, and in his scheme of colour and the grace of his lines he produces new effects of a significance profounder than is usually recognised.

The Seicento expressed its spirit in the sumptuousness of the larger chambers; the Settecento found its expression in the furnishing of the smaller cabinets. Ballrooms and reception-rooms display a pompous magnificence in their enormous mirrors, their bright paintings, the damasks and tapestries; but side by side with the great halls the noble owners began to arrange little cabinets full of taste and feminine delicacy. The stuffs of the Seicento are large and fantastic in design, the colours vivid and blended in a violent harmony; in the following century the patterns become small, the great foliage designs are replaced by bunches and festoons of flowers, the hues are pallid as in a pastel, — they are usually pale greens, pistachio, blues, salmon colour, canary yellow, — and produce the effect of sweet low music. Architectonic lines, colour, and moulding all go to create an exquisite harmony. On the walls hang the works of Rosalba and Longhi, of Canaletto and Guardi; the ceilings and doorways are adorned with stucco work of scrolls and garlands, either left white or touched up with gold, and form a setting for joyous dances of cupidons in the manner of Tiepolo. Cornices,

A Press decorated with Carvings in Stone and Bronze (XVII century). (Venice, Palazzo Pesaro)

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window-frames, jambs, architraves, and folds of the doors all display delicate curves. The heavy furniture of the Seicento, with its violent design, gives way to smooth and polished furniture in lacquer, of softly flowing lines and harmonious colour — white and gold, rose and gold, green and gold. Gold is used in abundance, but never produces a garish effect, and the method of gilding on a slightly prepared ground surpasses the gilding of any other country. A spirit of gaiety breathes from every piece of furniture; little tables carved with amorini and wreaths; coffers and wardrobes painted with flowers, birds, and arabesques; chairs and sofas with fantastic decoration and play of ornament, perhaps a trifle trivial, but still full of grace. In the corners of the rooms stood figures in Saxon and Venetian porcelain reflected in the mirrors which covered the walls. And as to the eye, so to the touch every object was pleasing, from the metal door and window-panels to the fire-irons; the great fireplaces, where the logs gave out more smoke than heat, were replaced by smaller chimneys lined with tiles with figures and patterns in blue on white.

This graceful scheme of decoration was enhanced by the imitation of Chinese or Japanese designs, which were in great demand, thanks to their charm and originality. The production of these *chinoiseries*, made fashionable by Watteau and Boucher, was greatly assisted by the discovery of the chemist Böttger, who about the year 1710 succeeded in making, at Meissen in Saxony, a porcelain resembling Chinese. When the secret spread, even as far as Venice, china vases and their stands were at once imitated. Other copies followed, and presently all over the furniture, the cupboards, coffers, cabinets, fans, tables, screens, and even over the walls appeared the little pagodas, the temples, the rocks, the grottoes peopled with pig-tailed

Chinamen.[1] And this style of decoration was not confined to the so-called *depentori alla chinese*,[2] but was adopted by such distinguished artists as Tiepolo.[3]

In truth, Tiepolo's genius illuminates Venetian art of the Settecento. There is no department of painting that he does not touch; throughout he dominates and conquers, and ceilings and walls are filled with his sublime creations. Take, for example, the splendid ballroom of the Palazzo Labia, — the palace, according to De Brosses, *le mieux entendu en dedans*, — with its two masterpieces, "The Banquet of Cleopatra" and "The Embarkation of Antony and Cleopatra," painted in fresco between the architectural designs of Mengozzi-Colonna. Cignaroli and Tiepolo painted the ceilings of the other chambers, which were adorned with pictures, silk damasks, and stamped leather, of such richness that tradition may well be right in placing the cost at one million one hundred and sixty-one thousand three hundred ducats.[4]

After the middle of the century the graceful and picturesque license which the style permitted itself was gradually tempered by the introduction of the classical idea, which eventually triumphed at the close of the century.

The aspect of the apartments changed, but we still see traces of the Settecento in some of the older houses, such as the Palazzo Rezzonico at San Barnaba, Widmann at San Canciano, Zenobio at the Carmini, Pisani at San Polo, Morosini at Santo Stefano, Mocenigo at San Benedetto and San Samuele. Most of the furniture

[1] See Remondini's Catalogues, where mention is made of copper-plates of Chinese subjects on fine paper intended to be applied to fruit dishes, boxes, and cabinets.

[2] In the registers of the church of San Samuele we find this entry: "Nel Maggio, 1725 fu battezzata la figlia (Angela Caterina) di Iseppo Tosello, *depentor alla chinese*."

[3] In the frescoes of the Villa Valmarana at Vicenza.

[4] Fontana, *I Palazzi di Venezia*, p. 201. Venezia, 1847.

EXAMPLE of XVIII century Venetian Furniture. (Museo Civico)

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has disappeared,[1] but some of the rooms not yet ruined by French furniture still preserve the beauty of their original decoration. So too in some of the villas of the mainland we still find the original mural adornments, — for example, the Soderini Villa at Nervesa, in the Trivigiano, and the Villa Rezzonico near Bassano. The Soderini were a branch of the Florentine family which settled in Venice, and between 1725 and 1730 they built a palace at Nervesa which they decorated with pictures by Tiepolo, Canaletto, Battaglioli, and Zugno, and with stucco work by Mengozzi-Colonna and Carrari. The furniture has vanished, but the paintings and the fantastic stucco still remain. So too in the Villa Rezzonico, which belonged to the relations of Pope Clement, the furniture is gone, but the unmatched stuccoes still survive intact. They are spread all over the villa; in delicate low relief they adorn the ceilings of the chambers; in higher relief of foliage, volutes, masks, and Cupids they enrich the central hall, while in full relief and with superb *brio* of movement they lend a majesty and dignity to the doorways of the entrance hall. It is our good fortune that the solitude of the country has saved many precious works of art from the ignorance of degenerate descendants and the rapacity of the dealers.

These traces of a lost beauty enable us to reconstruct the charm of Venetian life; and in this regard we must not omit to speak of the gondola, which at this epoch was so intimately connected with the habits of the upper classes. As horses and carriages were reserved for the

[1] The beautiful mural decorations of a bedroom and alcove, dating from the beginning of the Settecento, in a house belonging to the Toderini in Ruga Giuffa at Santa Maria Formosa, were sold to a dealer. In the Palazzo Calbo-Crotta, until quite recently, there were preserved some rooms magnificently hung with damasks and cut velvets and containing bizarre Chinese decorations. All has been sold, and we are lucky to possess the photographs. The Palazzo Quirini Stampalia and the Palazzo Rezzonico have two well-preserved bedrooms of the eighteenth century.

villeggiatura, this age of squandering turned all its capricious attention to the adornment of the gondola. All through the Seicento the government endeavoured to put down the use of satin and lace in the linings (1606), of *felze* covered with silk and sarsenet, with braid and tufts of silk (1609), mountings of inlaid ivory and ebony (1623), liveries of silk embroidered with gold and silver (1633). Gondoliers and lacqueys who infringed the rule were placed for an hour in the pillory and were then sent to serve in the galleys for three years.[1] In the struggle between the severity of the law and the wilful disobedience of the subjects[2] the latter won the day, and a decree of the Sumptuary Board, dated March, 1653, states that, seeing that the constant breaches of the law are due solely to vanity

[1] Orlandini, G., *La Gondola*, cit., pp. 18, 19.

[2] The Tuscan Minister, Matteo del Teglia, wrote on May 21, 1678, as follows: "Un Gentilhomo di Casa Moro per singolarizzarsi con la sua gondola nel solito Corso il giorno dell'Ascensione, se ne haveva fatta fabricar una col fondo tutto di rame; onde il Governo, che non vuol permettere novità, la fece dare Mercordì pubblicamente alle fiamme. Lo stesso succedè ad un cittadino di casa Noris d'un abito soverchiamente pomposo; fattolo inoltre passar in segreta come trasgressore de' patrii statuti." (Florence, Arch. di Stato, *Lett. dei Residenti*, cit., file 3040, fol. 164.) No law placed any restriction on the sumptuousness of ambassadorial gondolas. The Tuscan del Teglia writes on February 24, 1680 (file 3041, fol. 67): "V'erano infinite gondole di questi Patrioti accorsi ad ammirare la magnificenza di quelle dell'Ambasciatore Cesareo, fabricate con modo straordinario, venendo il ricco felce delle due più principali sostenuto, invece de' soliti cerchi, da statue mirabilmente intagliate, coi ferri gentilissimamente traforati a bellissime figure; corrispondendo alla vaghezza delle gondole la livrea, l'abbigliamento della casa e i rinfreschi d'ogni sorte con somma splendidezza et abbondanza." A manuscript of the library at Troyes entitled *Mémoire de l'entrée et de l'audience publique de M. Amelot*, contains the following description of the gondolas of the French Ambassador, Amelot de Gournay, when, in September, 1682, he made his entry into Venice: "Des cinq gondoles de l'Ambassadeur, la première et la deuxiesme estoient toutes de sculture dorées et enrichies de grand nombre de figures et de bas-reliefs. Les felches et toute la garniture de dedans, avec les tapis et les carreaux, estoient de velours cramoisy à la première, et de bleu à la seconde, en broderie d'or d'un fort beau dessin et fort bien exécuté. Les trois autres estoient aussi enrichies de plusieurs figures et ornements de sculpture d'or et noir, et garnies de damas." Baschet, *Les Archives de Venise*, p. 479. Paris, 1870.

Gondola for State Occasions — from a XVII century print

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and ambition, the Board is prepared to make some concessions on the point.

With the close of the Seicento the gondola, which had found its way even into France,[1] came to assume the simplicity and elegance of the modern vessel, even in its ornaments. The two *ferri* at bow and stern, charged with bosses, pyramids, and flowers, now gave place to a single *ferro* at the bow, with a large flat blade above, but cut into teeth lower down. The *felze* was covered with black cloth called *rascia*, and had black silk tufts; but even when this uniform type of gondola was adopted the gondola lamps and brackets[2] still offered a field for display, as did the brass coats-of-arms which adorned the *felze*, and the gilded bronze sea-horses and monsters which carried the cords of the arm-rests, the screw-heads, the gilded hooks,[3] the windows of the *felze*, the

[1] The gondola was to be seen on the canal at Versailles rowed by Venetian gondoliers, while a group of houses on the water's edge was known as the *Petite Venise* (Dussieux, *Le Château de Versailles*, II, 226. Versailles, 1885. Fennebresque, *La Petite Venise*. Paris, 1899). The first gondola seen in France, all gilded and decorated, was given to Louis XIV by the Republic. The idea of making this present came from the Venetian ambassador, Francesco Michiel. Michiel had visited Versailles along with the king, and when walking in the park had remarked that gondolas seemed made for those waters; whereat the king smiled graciously. This was reported to Venice, where the hint was acted upon. De Nolhac, *La création de Versailles*, p. 244. Versailles, 1901.

[2] Arch. di Stato, Provv. alle Pompe, *Capitolare*, fol. 94, August 7, 1743.

[3] We have found this account of Tomaso Carpinoni, *latoner al ponte dei Fuseri*:

2 settembre 1764

Deve dar per aver rinfrescato l'arme della gondola coi suoi fornimenti	L. 10
più per aver fatto de nuovo n. 6 ganzi dorati a fuoco val	18
n. 9 placche dorate	18
più per aver fatto una rosetta con suo ganzo dorato val	18
più n. 30 vide dorate	7.10
più un pomolo per la portella	0.10
più un filo storto di ottone per sostenere le coltrine	1.10
più n. 40 vere da coltrine, ecc.	1

As a proof of what a gondola cost we may refer to the accounts in various patrician family archives. For instance, in July, 1764, the noble Francesco Grimani notes certain expenses on the occasion of the marriage

livery of the gondoliers. The praises of the gondola were even made the theme of a poem in Latin hexameters by the Spaniard Emanuele de Azevedo, who tells one how to get into the gondola, how to sit in it, how to recline among the cushions,[1] or, as the Venetians say, *gondolar*, a word which in the vernacular means "to lie at one's ease." The gondola with its black cloth covering, which to a writer of the Seicento seemed the "very expression of modesty bidding adieu to luxury and prodigality in these mourning robes,"[2] and struck Goethe too as resembling a bier, was, as a matter of fact, the frequent confidant of pleasure.

of his daughter Maria. The cushions of the gondola (*stramazzetti*) cost 60 *lire*, the *felze* 290, and all other fittings are noted, down to the braid, buttons, and silk stockings of the gondoliers.

[1] Nos cymbae pars plana vocat; prima atria credas
Aulam ingressuris; varioque colore tapetum
Cernis humi stratum, atque intus terno ordine sedes
Ingredere: inflexo cures tamen ire retrorsum
Corpore: si placeat charum invitare sodalem,
Posterior sedes capit ambos: sternere corpus,
Sive sedere cupis, mollis te culcitra pennis
Allicit excussis: sua sunt si praepete curru
Commoda, plura tamen tibi longior exhibet aula.
Non caput exterius, non dextra incauta vagetur,
Intus adesse sat est; ferro nam saepe minaci
Cymba inopina tuae adlambit latus obvia cymbae.

Nicander Jasseus (Emanuele de Azevedo), *Venetae Urbis Descriptio*, p. 41. Venetiis ex typ. Zattiana, MDCCLXXX.

[2] Zunica, *La Calamita d'Europa*, cit., p. 54. See too *Il Trionfo dei Gondolieri di Winne di Rosemberg*. Napoli, 1790.

A Gondola Lantern of the XVIII century. (Museo Civico)

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CHAPTER X

THE FAMILY IN ITS CEREMONIES AND CUSTOMS — THE RELATIONS BETWEEN PATRICIAN AND PLEBEIAN — RELIGIOUS SENTIMENT AND EDUCATION

THE excessive pomp displayed on solemn public functions and at the reception of foreign monarchs and princes was repeated in private life in the balls and banquets which the patricians were wont to give in their palaces. It may have been vanity tempered with patriotic pride which led to such lavish expenditure on the honours paid to distinguished strangers, but it was mere pride of caste which inspired the ostentation of private entertainments devoid of any special pretext. As in the days in which splendour was based on solid wealth, so now the palaces frequently resounded to music and the dance. The display was the same, but its form had changed; the free and light dance of the Cinquecento had given place to more sedate measures, which had all the appearance of a promenade, where ladies and gentlemen proceeded from one chamber to another accompanied by the strains of an orchestra.[1] A Frenchman of the Seicento says of the Venetian dances that the whole pleasure consisted in watching some twenty or thirty couples promenading in line, as they did in the alleys of the Tuileries and of the Luxembourg. Hard by the ballroom were other chambers for gaming and for music.[2] About the middle of the

[1] Freschot, *Relation*, cit., p. 405.

[2] Payen, *Les Voyages*, cit., pp. 226, 227. Another Frenchman of the seventeenth century describes the Venetian ladies dancing: "Leur Danse est un marcher grave et lent, de chambre en chambre, jusqu'à ce que l'on

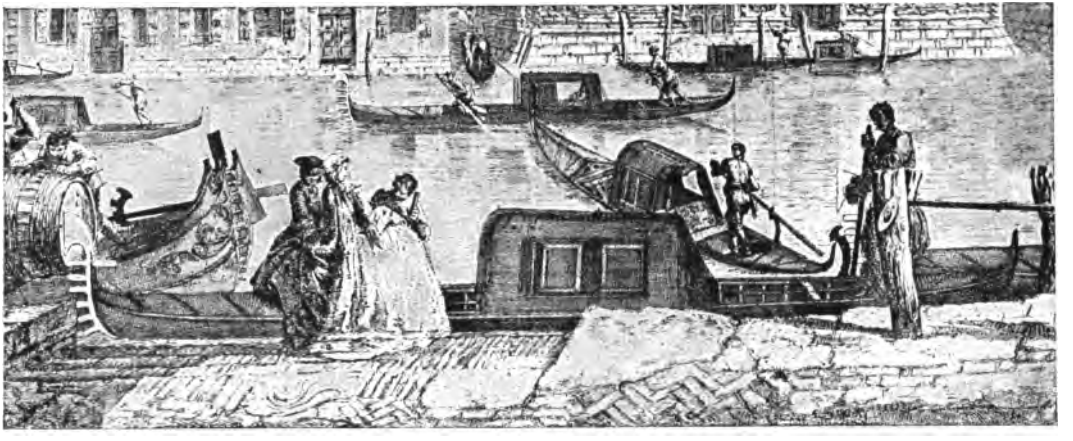
seventeenth century the minuet made its appearance; it was a stately measure, with intertwining figures and graceful undulations of the body, suggestive of invitation or refusal in courtship.

Banquets of ceremony, too, were served with excessive sumptuousness.[1] The heavy and complicated cookery of the earlier days gradually gave place to the more wholesome, delicate, and tasty school of France. French cookery, indeed, was not unknown even as early as the sixteenth century, when Pierre Buffet, the friend of Berni, after coming to Italy in the train of his king, refused to leave that pleasant land, and found a place in the service of Giovan Matteo Ghiberti, Bishop of Verona, whose secretary Berni was.[2] It was under Louis XIV that France imposed her national cookery on the rest of Europe, and supplied it with *chefs* who were recognised as unmatched masters of their craft. Venice, too, adopted French cookery, though the innovation met with some opposition down to the last among Venetian gourmets, who complained that the viands were so disguised and mixed with a hundred drugs that it was impossible to distinguish the flesh or the fish one was

soit retourné au lieu où on les a prises. Les instrumens n'y manquent pas; mais tellement disposez dans chaque appartement, que l'on n'entend qu'une seule mélodie. Dans l'une il y aura une Theorbe, dans l'autre une Angélique; dans celle-cy une Epinette, dans celle-là un Violon et un Cistre; et aussi autant de changement que vous faites de chambres, vous trouvez autant de changemens de ton et des notes." [De La Haye] *La polit. civ. et milit. des Vén.*, p. 47. Cologne, 1669.

[1] The Tuscan Resident Matteo del Teglia writes, on February 14, 1682, describing a superb banquet at which eighty of the great ladies and gentlemen of Venice sat down to a table loaded with game, pheasants and partridges piled in pyramids, besides the wines and confectionery (Arch. di Stato, Firenze, *Lett. dei Residenti*, cit., file 3041, fol. 685). Lamberti (*Mem.*, cit., I, 151) says all the ducal banquets were served with the greatest refinement both in the cookery and in the food. The most highly prized fish was eagerly sought, both in the sea and in lakes and rivers hundreds of miles away; on the table appeared the earliest vegetables and fruits. For St. Mark's Day peas were brought from Genoa, those of the estuary being not yet ripe.

[2] Cougnet, *I piaceri della tavola*, p. 308. Torino, 1903.



A Ferry — from an engraving by Michele Marieschi

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eating, and ended by declaring that French cookery, with its sauces and its essences, had ruined Venetian stomachs.[1] The strange habit of laying three tables in three different rooms came into vogue, especially during the *villeggiatura*. On one table were served the soup and the entrée; the guests then passed into the second room, where they found the roast and the solid foods; in the third were spread the sweets, the dessert, the fruit and ices.[2] The luxury of the nobility was imitated by the middle class, though the people were always sober in eating[3] and drinking, and one rarely saw an intoxicated Venetian.[4]

The profusion of viands and wines[5] was equalled by the splendour of the decoration, — Murano glass, services of Venetian, Saxon, Chinese, and Japanese porcelain; centrepieces; candelabra, which Venetian silversmiths adorned with figures, birds, tufts, streamers, waving ornamentation of the greatest grace. There

[1] Zanetti, Gir., *Memorie*, cit. (*Arch. Veneto*, XXIX, 97): "I cuochi francesi hanno guasti li stomachi veneziani con tante porcherie, salse, brodetti e specialmente estratti, ne' quali quattro paia di colombi ridotti a puro brodo appena si trovano . . . Ora l'aglio e le cipolle sono molto alla moda, ed entrano in quasi tutti i piatti, e le carni ed i pesci sono talmente trasformati, che appena si riconoscono quando giungono in tavola. . . . Tutto è mascherato e mescolato con cento erbe, droghe, sughi ed altro."

[2] Ibid.

[3] Romanin (*St.*, XI, 20, n. 1) says that the people eat certain food on certain days, — for instance, eels, salmon, cabbages, *mostarda* and *mandorlato* on Christmas Eve; rissoles, turkey, whipped cream during the last days of Carnival; peas on the first day of Lent; lamb and bun at Easter; duck on the first of August, and so on.

[4] [Casanova], *Confut. all' Amelot*, cit., p. 66.

[5] Robert James' *Nuova farmacopea universale* (Venezia, Pezzana, 1758) notes a list of the wines in highest favour. The wedding-banquet of the Noble Alvise Zorzi Contarini and Caterina Civran in 1775 was served with Tokay, Cape of Good Hope, Burgundy, Champagne, Graves, Canary, Rhenish, Pazaret, Tintiglia di Rota, Malmsey, Malaga, Saragozza, Vermouth, Muscat, Peralta, Setuva abboccato, Setuva asciutto, Monte Moro, Jamaica rum, English beer, Palma, Hungarian, Madeira, Ratafià of Grenoble, Cyprus, Old Cyprus, Contralt dolce, Bianco abboccato, Rosazzo bianco, Contralt rosso, Picolit, Monte Libano, Lunel, San Lorans, Scopolo. Liqueurs: Vanilla, Canelin, Maraschino, Elizir Vitæ.

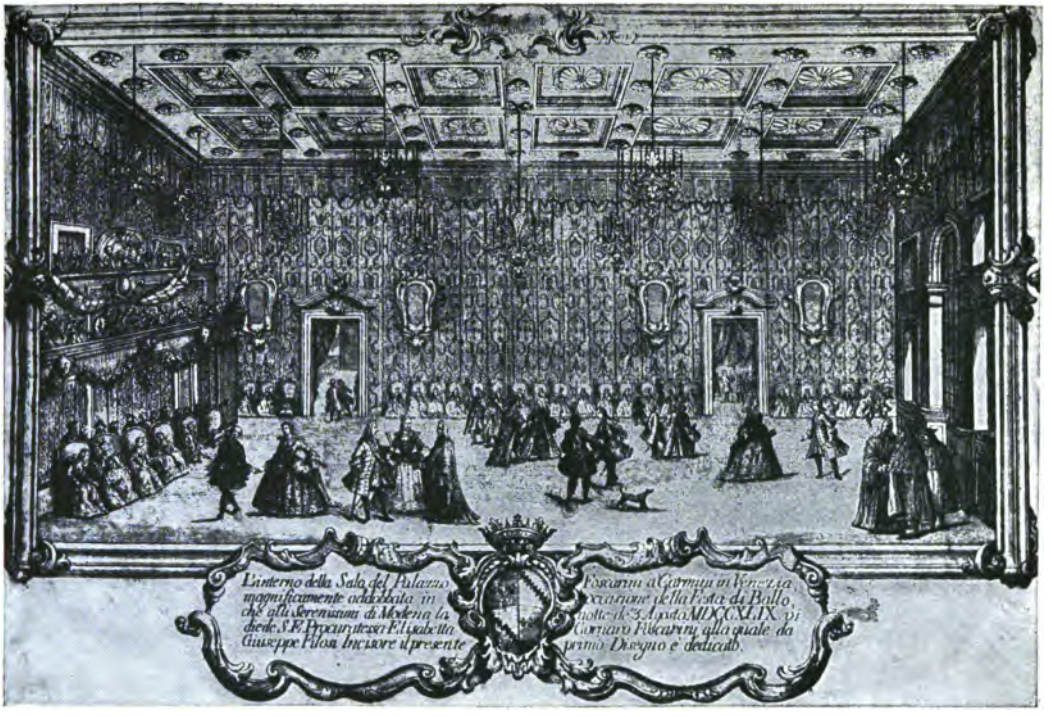
is a story that the Labia offered a banquet to forty nobles in their regal palace at San Geremia; the service was of gold plate, and at the close of the feast the master of the house threw it all out of window into the canal, exclaiming, in a pun on his name: "*L'abbia o non l'abbia, sarò sempre Labia.*" If the story is true, no doubt Labia's servants fished the plate up out of the Canal, but it is more likely that the anecdote is a popular myth, which, however, gives us an idea of the current opinion as to the lavishness and wealth of the Venetian patricians.[1]

All domestic events, such as births, marriages, and funerals, were celebrated with a splendour which was traditional in the patriciate.

A great display of banners, torches, and flambeaux usually opened a funeral cortege[2]; damasks and tapestries and carpets hung from the windows; in the shop windows were displayed eulogies and portraits of the deceased; in the church a catafalque entirely in keeping

[1] As a pendant we may quote another anecdote from Renier-Michiel (*Feste Ven.*, cit., IV, 92): at a *fête* in the house of the Procurator Sebastiano Foscarini, Frederic IV, King of Denmark, was dancing with the young and beautiful patrician Caterina Quirini; in the heat of the dance a buckle of the king's dress broke the thread upon which were strung her splendid Oriental pearls, which all rolled upon the ground. The lady never even looked at them, nor did her husband stir from his seat; but the king was so covered with confusion that he made as though he would stoop to pick them up. The husband, however, forestalled him; rising from his seat and pretending not to notice the pearls, he strode on them, crushing and scattering them with his feet. Caterina continued her dance with the king and never alluded to the episode.

[2] See the description of the funeral of the Procurator, Leonardo Pesaro, in *Minerva al tavalino* (II, 159) by Ivanovich; and of the funeral of the Grand Chancellor, Pietro Businello, who died in 1713, given us by Casotti (*Lettere da Venezia*, 1713, cit., pp. 22 et seq.). The funeral procession of the Doge Mocenigo is thus described by the ducal chaplain: "Every class of citizen was represented, both secular and ecclesiastical, all of them in mourning. The procession lasted six hours. The whole city took part as spectator of the sad but magnificent ceremony. The noble family spared no expense to honour the dead. All the domestics and dependents to the number of eighty were dressed in mourning from head to foot, and the amount of wax candles distributed reached the total of sixteen thousand pounds' weight." Arch. priv. Mocenigo, *Lett. del cappell.*, cit.



A Ball in the Palazzo Foscarini ai Carmini— from an engraving by G. Filosi

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with the empty rhetoric of the funeral orations. The survivors not only dressed themselves in the deepest mourning, they even put the house in mourning, and the chambers were hung in mourning weeds of great cost.[1] On All Souls' Day the churches, houses, and streets were thronged and animated as on a festival.[2] The churches were hung in black, with twinkling candles and clouds of perfumed incense. At the doors of the rich gathered crowds of the people, to whom were distributed doles; in the monastery kitchens huge caldrons of beans were ladled out to the poor, and this custom gave rise to the habit among the well-to-do of making a present to their friends of a certain kind of confectionery called beans (*fave*).

Traditional customs, both in childbirth and in baptism, were jealously observed with greater sumptuousness. In vain the government endeavoured to prohibit costly banquets and entertainments, the extravagance in linen trimmed with valuable laces, the sheets embroidered in silk and silver-thread, the excessive number of sponsors, who occasionally reached a

[1] In the will of Morosina Morosini Grimani we have the inventory of the mournings for the Dogaressa's room after the death of her husband: "Una muda di veludi negri et damaschi paonazzi, cioè di telli vintidoi per sorte — Item una muda di tafetà paonazzo per una camera — Un pavion di stameto paonazzo listado di veludo negro, con doi cussini, coperta, et bancaletto, et con la sua franza di sopra — Un pavion di cendado paonazzo, con la coperta, et bancaleto, et cusini con franze d'oro et paonazze — Carieghe di veludo negro disdotto, et doi sedie val numero 20 — Una muda di damaschetti paonazzi di telli trentasei, con il sguazzaron di veludo negro, et franza — Un tornaleto di damascheto paonazzo con la sua coperta, et bancaleto, et con la sua trabacca di ferro dorata — Sei coltrine da finestra di fustagno arzentino — Tre antiporte di veludo negro con le franze negre, et oro — Un baldachin di veludo negro — Doi coltre di seda paonazzà, etc." Arch. di Stato, Protocolli Ziliol Giulio, III and IV, B[a] 1250, fol. 108.

[2] There is a gentle philosophy in the thought of death as expressed in Venetian popular songs; here is a prayer in use among the people:

Bona sera ai vivi
E riposo ai poveri morti;
Bon viagio ai naveganti
E bona note a tutti quanti.

total of one hundred and fifty.[1] The law of 1505, which, for reasons we have already stated,[2] forbade patricians to act as godfather for brother patricians, was soon forgotten,[3] as was the other decree limiting the number of sponsors to twelve, and to these it was permitted to send only four sweet cakes and no more. The dressing of the churches, the music, baldachinos, and other vanities[4] were likewise forbidden by the law of August 7, 1634; and yet little more than a year later, December 5, 1635, the Patriarch, Federico Cornaro, went in great pomp to San Barnaba to baptise the son of Marino Tiepolo, who was brought to the church by Count Pietro Orlando Collalto and held at the font by the Chevalier Angelo Contarini. Contarini took his place under a rich and majestic baldachino; he wore his senatorial robes with a stole of cloth of gold, and acted as proxy for Ladislaus, King of Poland, after whom the child was named, as Martinioni tells us, and adds that the christening was regal in its splendour, accompanied with excellent music and fanfares of drums and trumpets, while a crowd of citizens and *cavalieri* and other personages from the mainland attended the ceremony.[5]

Every class in the State aped the lavish display of the patriciate, beginning with the class of the secretaries — whose domestic ceremonies differed but little from those of the nobles — and with the wealthy citizens who spent profusely in dress and jewelry and plate

[1] Gallicciolli, II, 380.

[2] See Part II, Vol. II, p. 192 of this work.

[3] In January, 1767, the daughter of the Dogaressa Pisana Cornaro Mocenigo gave birth to a son: "Tutta la città s'interessò, e portò alla Serenissima famiglia le sue congratulazioni; il neonato fu tenuto al sacro fonte dal Procuratore Rezzonico, come primo padrino, e da altri sette cavalieri, come secondi padrini." Arch. priv. Mocenigo, *Lett. cit. del fattore G. B. Francesconi.*

[4] Arch. di Stato, Senato, Ordinanza a stampa, B[a] 306, *Compilazione leggi.*

[5] *Aggiunte* by Martinioni to Sansovino's *Venetia*, p. 5.

on the occasion of marriages and baptisms,[1] while the vice spread even to the lower classes, who frequently yielded to imaginary obligations of display, and squandered their savings and piled up debts.

Marriage among the patricians had not essentially changed its character; old customs still prevailed. The marriage tie was considered not so much a union of hearts as an alliance between conspicuous families and a combination of interests, though this was not more the case in Venice than elsewhere throughout Europe, and we need not conclude that the wedded couple usually went to the altar without personal acquaintance; indeed we frequently find a marriage which had been only arranged was deferred in order to allow the pair to get to know each other and to fall in love.[2] The young man during the early days of an engagement was expected to pass up and down below

[1] Costantini, *Lett.*, cit., III, 84.

[2] "Les parens passent le contract de son mariage sans son consentement, et sans luy permettre mesme de voir son futur époux." Payen, *Les Voy.*, cit., p. 159. Saint-Didier (*La Ville et la Rép.*, cit., p. 313) tells the tale of a young girl, who on seeing her *fiancé* for the first time exclaimed, "Oh, what an ugly mug! Have I got to live with you? Woe's me!" (*Oh! che brutto muso! Mi go da star con ti? Oibò!*) In the eighteenth century we hear the same story: "On met ordinairement les filles au Couvent dès l'enfance, et on conclud leurs mariages sans qu'elles le sçachent, ni que bien souvent même elles ayant vû leur futur époux. Afin que cela ne vous fasse pas de peine, il faut que vous mettiez dans l'esprit, que les mariages ne se font pas icy dans les mesme vües qu'on a par tout ailleurs; il n'est question ni d'amour, ni d'affection, ni d'estime. S'il se rencontre quelque chose de semblable, à la bonne heure; mais il ne s'agit que de l'alliance, ou de la fortune: pour la personne, il importe peu." [Misson] *Nouv. Voy. d'Italie*, cit., p. 277. Malhows (*Voy.*, cit., II, 212) says that at Venice marriage is purely a matter of bargain. Baretti (*Gl'Italiani o sia relaz. degli usi e costumi d'Italia*, p. 25, trans. Milano, 1818), in order to refute this idea, tells the story of a young lady of the Barbarigo family who, after a year's acquaintance with her *fiancé*, a Zeno, feeling that she could not be happy with him, refused to marry him, though all the preparations for the wedding had been made; and in this she was supported by her family. Baretti, in his *An Account of the Manners and Customs of Italy*, the translation of which we have just quoted, defends the Italians against the attacks of the English surgeon, Samuel Sharp, author of certain *Letters on Italy* (1765-1766).

the windows of his *fiancée* at special hours, and she was expected to return his salute[1]; later on he would gain admission to the house, meet his betrothed in the presence of her parents, and present her with a diamond ring called the *ricordino*. Before her wedding the bride would receive from her mother a pearl necklace, which she was expected to wear continually during the first year of her marriage. The ceremony of "giving the pearls" was carried out in the presence of many friends. In the case of a marriage in the Doge's family, on the appointed day his Serenity and the Dogaressa entered the banqueting-hall, and taking their seats on lofty thrones proceeded to place the pearls round the neck of the bride elect.[2]

[1] Saint-Didier, *La Ville et la Rép.*, cit., pp. 390 et seq. In the eighteenth century we find Rossi (*Racc.*, cit., III, 120) writing: "Giovani trovavansi nella notte, i quali disfidando il freddo, andavano sotto le finestre delle amate, avvisandole con fischietti, serenate nelle barche e sulle strade."

[2] Arch. di Stato, *Cerimoniale*, Tom. II. The ceremonies accompanying a wedding in the ducal family are described by Giovanni Davanzo, chamberlain to the Doge, on the occasion of the betrothal of Alvise Mocenigo, son of the reigning Doge, with Francesca Grimani (April, 1766). The Doge and Dogaressa went to visit the *fiancée* of their son. "As the visit was a private one, his Serenity wore a cloak, *alla romana*, of cloth of gold with a bonnet; the Dogaressa, a mantle of cloth of gold with long veil, as became her dignity. At four o'clock they entered their gondola with crystal glasses and cushions of crimson velvet embroidered with gold; their second son, Cavaliere Marc' Antonio, entered the gondola with them. His Serenity took his seat to the right in the gondola. In the second gondola was the Cavaliere his Excellency Alvise Mocenigo III, brother of the Doge, along with the bridegroom, the Cavaliere Alvise Mocenigo, eldest son of the Doge; in the third gondola the chamberlain, majordomo, and two equerries; in the fourth gondola two more equerries and two gentlemen-in-waiting. When the cortege arrived at Ca' Grimani, the Doge's gondola stopped and the others passed up to the great door; the suite landed first, and then the relations. The Doge and Dogaressa found waiting to receive them Sig. Domenico Grimani and Sig. Lorenzo, brothers of the late Doge Francesco, son of the late Cavaliere, Marc' Antonio, also Marc' Antonio, Savio of the Council, father of the bride, along with Antonio Domenico and all the bride's brothers. All these walked beside his Serenity and the Dogaressa. On the staircase they met the bride and her mother, Maria Pisani Grimani, and the sisters Sig^ra^ Madelena Grimani Capello and Sig^ra^ Cattarina Grimani Pisani, aunts of the bride; they all received their Serenities with every mark of esteem and satisfaction, and escorted them to the appointed chamber, which was richly hung. There the Doge and Doga-

By the beginning of the seventeenth century the bride no longer went to pay the customary visit to the convents seated *in trasto*, that is, outside the *felze*, but seated under the *felze* on a splendid carpet in such a way that she could be seen by the crowd in the attendant gondolas.[1] When the bride had to make her appearance before her relations in the hall of her paternal home, she was, as in the old days, led in by the *ballerino*, an old servant dressed in black, with a short damask mantle and large collar falling over the shoulders. The bride kneeled on a velvet cushion to receive her parents' benediction and that of her nearer relations. The wedding itself was frequently celebrated by the domestic chaplain in the palace of the bridegroom; after the ceremony the pair kissed each other, while the guests assembled in the great hall shouted, *Basa, basa* (Kiss, kiss) as if to wish the couple joy.[2] Then the band struck up, and the bride, all alone, danced a kind of minuet; after that some young man of her near relations offered her his hand to lead her through the

ressa took their seats on chairs with carpeted footstools. The bride took her seat at the right, and her mother to the left. The master of the ceremonies then served refreshments on golden plate to their Serenities and their suites. Meantime the attendants also were served with biscuits, sweet waters, and chocolate, in the great room near the entrance." On April 20 the Dogaressa made her present to the bride, and Davanzo continues: "The invitations were issued for four o'clock; many of the invited went to the palace, others to Ca' Grimani to accompany the bride and her mother to the palace. They reached the palace at half-past four, accompanied by the bridegroom, and were received by the ducal servants in splendid liveries, then by the household. Marc' Antonio, brother of the bride, descended the steps of the water entrance and gave his hand to his sister, who was then handed on to the bridegroom, while Marc' Antonio gave his hand to the mother. At the top of the first flight of stairs they were met by Sig. Alvise III, brother of the Doge, and many ladies, and were accompanied to the private audience chamber, where they found the Dogaressa awaiting them, seated on a chair with a carpeted footstool. She placed the pearls on the bride's neck and gave her a kiss. Then followed sumptuous refreshments. Arch. priv. Marcello, *Visite private fatte dalli Ser^mi Grimani e Mocenigo alle Ecc^me Spose entrate nelle Ser^me loro Case.*

[1] Franco, *Habiti*, p. 8.

[2] Saint-Didier, op. loc. cit.

various apartments, followed by other couples. Before sitting down to the nuptial banquet the bride changed her wedding-dress of white silk or silver cambric for a robe more fully adorned with pearls, gems, and lace, while the ladies of her family changed their black for coloured gowns.[1] After the feast dancing began, and was carried on till late into the night, and repeated for two or three days running from two o'clock in the afternoon till the hour of the *fresco* in the gondola if it were Summer, or till supper-time if it were Winter. The trousseaux were of extravagant richness, and the government never ceased to issue prohibitions against robes of cloth of gold, drawers of cloth of silver, and other sumptuous dresses "which only served to feed the vanity of the wearer,"[2] and they bound on oath the *ballerino*, the dressmaker, and the tiring-woman of the bride to denounce any contravention.[3]

To give some idea of the pomp of a marriage ceremony, we may recall the *fêtes* in honour of the wedding of Leonardo Pesaro's daughter in 1676. The apartments of that magnificent palace on the Grand Canal, which Longhena was then building, were thrown open for an entertainment, thus described by Ivanovich, who was an eye-witness: "The decorations beggared description by their richness and variety; but beautiful above all was the audience chamber, covered to its full height with the most splendid embroidery, with its twin chairs of state, its window curtains of cloth woven in gold and silver. The chandelier, with its branches of rock crystal, lit up the splendid apartment, while in a neighbouring chamber were mirrors and brackets also in rock crystal, between gorgeous hangings. Hundreds of great candelabra and candlesticks of silver heightened the

[1] Lamberti, *Mem.*, cit., I, 189 et seq.
[2] Arch. di Stato, Provv. alle Pompe, Capit. 1, fol. 89. Decree of May 6, 1613.
[3] Ibid., fol. 108. Decree of March 20, 1625.

A Patrician Wedding in the Presence of the Doge — from an engraving by G. Filosi

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beauty of the scene. I heard the Nuncio say, 'Why, this is a lodging for a king.' The Procurator had out five gondolas with the gondoliers in rich and sumptuous liveries, as were the rest of the *valetaille*. A new but striking device was invented, namely, to make the gondoliers line the entrance from the steps of the water door to the great staircase, with huge flambeaux in their hands, standing there motionless till the close of the function; on the staircase itself the grooms fulfilled the same duty, and thus, besides making a brave show in themselves, they amply lighted the approach to the great hall without having to run up and down with lights, as is usual."[1]

About a century later Lady Mary Wortley Montagu declared that if she should attempt a minute description of all the sumptuous, not to say extravagant, splendour of the patricians on the occasion of a wedding, no one would believe her.[2] The account book for the trousseau of Pisana Cornaro, bride of Alvise Giovanni Mocenigo in 1739, ordered with excellent taste by her mother-in-law, brings to our eye a blaze of gold and of colour. Paolina Badoer Mocenigo, who selected the clothes, makes mention of gold and silver brocades, laces, and embroidery.[3] Twenty-seven years later (1766) the son of Pisana Cornaro and Alvise Mocenigo, who had been elected Doge in 1763, wedded Francesca Grimani, and the ceremony was carried out with similar magnificence.[4]

[1] Ivanovich, *Minerva*, cit., pp. 129–140.

[2] Op. cit., II, 330 (August 21, 1758).

[3] For gold and silver brocade from Milan, *lire Venete* 19,800; other stuff from Paris, francs 1867; for lace and cloth from Antwerp, *lire Venete* 6354; for a trimming of Venetian lace, ducats 660; for the embroiderers, *lire V.* 1363; for furs, *lire V.* 5412; for velvet, linen, gloves, shoes, fans, buckles, combs, and other objects, *lire V.* 37,258. Here jewels are not mentioned, but in the note of the property of another Mocenigo bride, a Contarini, we find 3552 brilliants, weighing 1989 grains; 487 pearls, weighing 1177 carats; 54 emeralds, weighing 42 carats; and 192 rubies. Molmenti, *La Dogaressa di Venezia*, p. 366. Torino, 1887.

[4] Pisana Cornaro Mocenigo has herself left a note of the cost; the total amounts to *lire Venete* 456,487; refreshments alone cost *lire* 1639, and the

The Ducal chaplain writes that for several days in the palace of the Grimani at the Servi a sumptuous supper

wedding banquet, *lire* 5621. Arch. priv. Mocenigo, *Spese fatte da me Dogaressa Pisana Corner Mocenigo per occasione delle nozze di mio figlio Kr Alvise, come appar da Conti in filza numerati* (May 20, 1766). For further details of the luxury lavished on patrician weddings, see Appendix, Doc. B, the *Registro di tutte le spese occorse per l'allestimento di S. E. Elisabetta Grimani sposa a Don Cesare Caetani, principe del Cassero* (1769). The following document, which we give in the original, is also curious: *Spese per la Fonzione de' Sponsali del N. H. Marin Zorzi con la N. D. Contarina Barbarigo* (September 25, 1765):

Al Rev. Pieuano per le Candelle		L. 12.8
Alla Sacrestia alla Salute		22
Al Masser di S. Rocco per spesa di Porto e recognizione delli n. 60 Cussini, Strato, damaschi e tapetti		22
Alli 4 uomini di Chiesa per apparecchio		8
Lasciati dalli N. H. e N. D. Sposi sotto li Cussini per recogizione ai Rd.mi Pieuani		104
Torci n. 2 di L. 16 l'uno e candeloti da L. 3 l'uno n. 3 seruirono per la messa de Sponsali		113
Alli Bombardieri		
Capo n. 1	L. 11	
Caposquadra n. 1	10	
Alfier n. 1	10	
Sergente n. 1	9	
Caporali n. 2	16	
Bombisti n. 12 a L. 9	108	
Artiglieri n. 20 a L, 5. 10	110	
Per la Licenza	3	
		278
Al Fenzo per stampa Raccolte		2170
Al Fenzo per sonetto uolante e legatura		80
Al d° per mettà di Spesi in Porto, e Persone p. dispensa		33
Per mettà dello speso nelle raccolte legate in drappo di oro, et arg. di più sorte		187
Partecipazion nozze à Parenti	35	
Altra a tutta la Nobiltà e Segretari, et altri	62	
Inuito alla Chiesa per mettà	62	
Inuito alli Compari	6	
Inuito al Pranzo	6	
Cappe nere n. 12	72	
Al Cap° aque	11	
Al Balotin	23	
Al Gastaldo del Tragheto	8	
		280
		L. 3309.8

was served to a number of ladies and gentlemen. On Sunday the bride was brought to the Mocenigo palace at San Stae, about the hour of dinner, accompanied by all the ladies of the Grimani family and received by all the ladies of the Mocenigo family; and all, with their attendant gentlemen, were entertained at a splendid banquet.[1] The jewels and trousseau of the bride were displayed for the admiration of the guests; and so were the presents, of great variety; and poets offered a flood of verses to the bride.[2] The wedding took place

[1] Arch. priv. Mocenigo, *Lettere del cappellano ducale* (April, 1766).

[2] Costantini, *Lett.*, cit., I, 116. A collection of verses entitled *Il Mondo Muliebre* (Venezia, Palese, 1794) was published by the Abbé Angelo Dalmistro, per nozze Redetti-Valmarana. These verses, in which "certain cultured swans of Italy" describe the dress of a young girl on her wedding day, give us a good idea of the times, the fashions, and the customs. One of the poets, who hides under the academic name of Elcippo Sicionio, sings of the *serto di gioie*, and the Conte Pietro Maniago of the *oriuolo*, that

Dal bel Tamigi industre
Viene dal fianco a pendere
D'una fanciulla illustre;

Luigi Bramieri, an advocate of Piacenza, lauds the crystal casket with its two doves on the lid, which contains the bonbons (*diavoloni*) made of aromatic herbs

A cui l'ambrosia e il nettare
Pari non han virtude;

the Brescian Giuseppe Marini describes the *astuccio*, which encloses the *picciol coltello* for mending the pen made of a white swan's feather, the magnifying-glass, the flask of liqueur, the smelling-bottle, the scissors with their gilded sheath and chased decoration; Clementino Vannetti, of Roveredo, sings the fan, *mobile estivo arnese*, and all its use and meaning in female coquetry; Francesco Bottaini, of Bergamo, describes the various pins; Antonio Amorini, of Bologna, declares the bouquet to be

gentil trofeo
di odorosi eletti fior;

the Abbé Moreschi, of Bologna, dwells on the gloves; Abbé Montalti, of Cesena, on the girdle, alluding to the *cinto del pudore* which Juno steals from the damsel and breaks; Dalmistro, known among the Arcadians as Clorindo Pitonéo, lauds the stockings

Le seriche arrendevoli
Lindissime calzette;

Pietro Scotes, of Verona, the *collana di perle*; Comaschi, of Parma, *la veste nuziale e la cuffia*; Father Mariano Minghetti, the scented waters, *acque*

in the Servite Church, and, as the chaplain declares, the concourse of nobles and people could not have been more flattering.

As the cost of weddings went up, so did the amount of the dowry. Sister Arcangela Tarabotti, writing about the middle of the Seicento and speaking of the dowers of the wealthy middle class, which at that time usually ran to about one thousand ducats,[1] declares that "a woman is a cross no one adores unless well gilded." Among the great families a dowry varied between forty and sixty thousand ducats, and was a serious menace to the family fortune.[2]

As equality of name and of wealth was the main ground for Venetian marriages, domestic unity and

nanfe; Calura, of Murano, the veils; Father Rado, the diamond ring, which

De la fede è segno
E de la nobiltà;

the Abbé Greatti, of Udine, brooches, and the Abbé Tognetti, of Bologna, the earrings.

1 "Mille ducati al presente sono difficili a trovarsi . . . le fortune scarse, i tempi stretti e le carestie grandi." Tarabotti, *Lett. Familiari*, pp. 98, 99. Ven. 1650.

2 We give an example of a contract of dower; it comes from the Stefani collection now dispersed:

2 febbraio 1707, Venezia.

In nome della SS^ma^ Trinità, Padre, Figlio e Sp.o Santo e della Beatiss.a Vergine Maria p. il presente contratto di nozze praticato, concluso, e stabilito per l'Illmo et Ecc^mo^ Mr Sebastiano Foscarini K.r e Proc.r di S. Marco per parte sì del N. H. sposo, come della N. D. sposa si dichiara come il N. H. Franc.co Duodo, fu di Piero, Padre, e li N. N. H. H. Nicolò e Pietro Duodo Zij Paterni promettono che la Nobil e Pudica Donzella Chiara figlia e Nipote respettiua accetterà e riceuerà p. suo legittimo Sposo, e Marito il N. H. Pietro Marcello Figlio dell' Illmo et Ecc^mo^ Sr Giacomo, come commanda il S.e Iddio e la Santa M.re Chiesa Cattolica Rom.a, e Sacros.o Concilio di Trento, et all' incontro il N. H. Giacomo Marcello suo Pad.e et l'Ill.mi et l'Ecc.mi M.ri Federigo Proc.r di S. Marco e Pietro Zij promettono che il N. H. Pietro Figlio, e Nipote rispetivo accetterà e riceuerà p. sua legittima Sposa, e Consorte come di sopra la sud. N. D. Chiara, alli quali N. N. H. H. sposi si supplica S. Diu.a Maestà concedere lunghi anni di vita, salute, pace, concordia e prole.

Per dote ueramente e nome di dote promette il N. H. S. Fran.co. suo Padre, e si obbliga dare al sud. N. H. S. Giacomo Marcello Padre ducati quaranta mille nel modo infrascritto:

THE Pisani Family (1760) — a painting by Pietro Longhi. (Venice, in the Collection of the Marchese Bentivoglio)

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affection seldom formed the strength of a Venetian family. It is true that there were some families who preserved intact the ancient devotion to the purity of family affections, and within whose sumptuous palace walls the tranquil joys, the sorrows and sacrifices of family life pursued their course, too little noticed by the historian of the State.[1] United in the perception of a common good and illumined by the rays of true affection, we find certain families happy in a numerous offspring. The painters of the eighteenth century have thus preserved for us the Pisani, Rezzonico, and Albrizzi family groups. But in other cases "no sooner were the bonds of holy matrimony tied than we find the couple voluntarily abandoning the nuptial couch and pursuing other extraneous loves," to use the words of a physician who occupied himself with psychical problems.[2]

Al dar della mano ducati dodici mille . . .	d. 12,000
In mobili p. uso della sposa, due mille . . .	2,000
In cecca alli tre p. cento, cinque mille . . .	5,000
In annate, in anni quattordici egualmente anno p. anno ripartiti sedici mille	16,000
In cecca alli due p. cento, cinque mille . . .	5,000
	d. 40,000

La qual dote tutta nelli patti, e modi sop.ti il N. H. Giacomo Marcello Padre accetta, e riceve, e promette quella in caso di restituzione (che Dio S.re non uoglia; e sua S.ma Madre non permetta) restituire nella somma, che sarà ricevuta con la perdita di ducati mille p. il terzo giusta le leggi, et uso di questo Ser.mo Dominio, dichiarando che li predetti ducati dieci milla in Cecca debbano restar fondi dotali, e la presente scrittura con altra simile douerà essere sottoscritta dalle Parti."

Certain families whose fortunes were on the decline, with the intention of keeping up appearances, would give dowers which were nominal, not real. "Case le più incomode, diroccate e difficili ad affittarsi; terreni sparsi, mal coltivati e di rendita e fondo infelice; censi o disperati o periclitanti, o in mano di gente alquanto impotente e ostinata. In somma l'espurgo delle scopature della casa dotante. E ciò che importa, se rendono due, si calcolano come se rendessero sei per la vicendevole vanità, che la Dote importi 5o o 6o mille scudi: quando a far bene il conto appena potrebbe comprarsi per dieci." Costantini, *Lett.*, cit., I, 116.

[1] Fulin, *Studi nell' Arch. degli Inquis.*, cit., p. 144.

[2] Luigi Orteschi, who in 1791 wrote a treatise, as yet inedited, *Sulle passioni, costumi e modi di vivere dei Veneziani.* The MS. belonged to E. A. Cicogna, who published a fragment per nozze Levi-Morpurgo. Venezia, 1859.

When the marriage tie became intolerable, they had recourse to those formal petitions in which the "unhappy husband" or the "unhappy wife," "in conformity with the law," implored permission from the Council of Ten to move the Patriarchal Court to grant a *monitorio di divorzio*.

In Venetian usage divorce, however, is used in its true signification in canon and civil law, namely, separation. Annulment of the marriage, on the other hand, allowed the parties to marry again if the marriage had not all the qualities required by canon law. Petitions both for separation (*divorzio*) and for annulment came before the ecclesiastical authorities; but the Republic insisted that the parties should be represented by lay advocates, and that no process for separation or divorce could be initiated without a previous petition to the Council of Ten.

All the same it was not difficult to obtain either a separation or a divorce. For instance, from August 20, 1777, to August 20, 1782, we find two hundred and ninety-three cases of separation and twenty-two of nullity.[1] If the marriage were not dissolved by mutual consent, it was almost always the wife who had to seek separation, "owing to the barbarous treatment she received from her husband," his foul language, threats and blows[2]; on the plea of rape, non-consummation, or forced marriage; on the ground of his squandering the dowry,[3] or to save herself from his creditors[4]; or to avoid the consequences of "his notorious condition."[5] On the other hand we find a husband, with tears in his eyes, petitioning for a separation because his wife had deserted him,[6] or because "she had fallen into bad ways, and, incited by her admirers, had ceased to perform her duties"[7]; because she had a violent

[1] Arch. di Stato, Capi del Cons. dei X, *Cons. e Mem. sui divorzi*, Bª I.
[2] Ibid., *Suppliche per divorzi*, Bª I, 1782–1788, n. 1.
[3] Ibid., Bª II, n. 158. [4] Ibid., n. 4. [5] Ibid., n. 8,
[6] Ibid., n. 14. [7] Ibid., n. 33.

temper and was extravagant[1]; or had tried to pilfer the household funds[2]; or, finally, because the marriage did not conform to the requirements of canon law.[3] We even find a patrician, Giovanni Cornaro, petitioning (1753) for separation from his wife, Orsetta Venier, *in causa dell' odore dei piedi relativo alle narici del marito, e li medici ne fanno attestato.* Canon law does not contemplate such a ground, and limits itself to cases of contagious disease and especially of leprosy, though it did not deprive the unfortunate leper of all his conjugal rights: *Uxor viro leproso tenetur reddere debitum, non tamen ei cohabitare.*

The Republic, seeing that divorce was too readily granted by the ecclesiastical authority, thought it necessary to exercise its civil authority more actively, on the ground that marriage, being a civil contract and intimately connected with the constitution of society, came properly within the purview of the secular authority. Accordingly it issued regulations to check the frequency of divorces; it ordered women to retire to convents until the decree had issued; it took severe and wise steps to arrive at the real grounds for the petitions, and to punish any transgression of the law which might be brought to light.[4] The Church did not fail to remonstrate,

[1] Arch. di Stato, Capi del Cons. dei X, *Suppliche per divorzi*, B[a] I, n. 39.

[2] Ibid., n. 43.

[3] Ibid., B[a] II, n. 123.

[4] On August 20, 1782, the Council of Ten, alarmed at the number of petitions for separation or dissolution of marriage, presented for the most part by women, expressed itself thus: "As these petitions are not usually based upon reasons recognized by canon law, but rather upon a vicious desire to escape from the marital authority in order to follow the bent of their scandalous misconduct, which is an offence to the sober, ruin to the family estate, of evil example to the children, and a cause of derision on the part of foreigners, we order that for the future, as each sex is entitled when canon law approves, to present appeals to the court of the Ordinaries, women without exception must retire into a convent or conservatoire, to be approved by the chiefs of the Ten before they be allowed to present such petition." The Ten threaten severe punishments also for the men who present, in the Bishop's Court, petitions for separation or divorce

considering its authority diminished, and declared the necessity for keeping civil and ecclesiastical jurisdiction apart. But the Republic acutely observed that ecclesiastics did not always possess the practical knowledge of the various relations between the component parts of the State,[1] nor did it desist from its efforts to

not based on plausible grounds, and they proceed: "Non dovendosi sorpassare in fine li maliziosi raggiri, che per parte de' difensori Ecclesiastici o d'altri venissero nelle cause matrimoniali per avventura intentati, si delibera, che sia preciso dovere de' Capi presenti e Successori di invigillare attentamente sulla condotta de' medesimi, perchè venendo con qualunque mezzo, ed in qualunque tempo in cognizione delle loro reità, devengano contro d'essi alli più forti castighi, e quali servir abbiano d'esempio agli altri, per contenersi ne' limiti prescritti dalle Pubbliche e Canoniche Leggi, certo questo Conseglio che colle apposte robuste providenze frenato sarà per essere il dannatissimo abuso, in riverenza alla Religione, a correxion de' costumi, a quiete delle Famiglie, ed a sostenimento della privata e pubblica tranquillità." Arch. di Stato, Cons. dei X, *Comune*, n. 232, fol. 165, I. On July 27, 1785, the Council of Ten declares itself: "Costante nel religioso impegno di poner possibilmente riparo agli abusi introdotti nelle cause matrimoniali," and orders all parish priests to impart to all couples about to be married the instructions laid down by the Council of Trent in order that they may be made aware of the impediments which render illegal or invalid the marriage ceremony, and also of the grounds on which separation may be sought, so that the pair may never at any time plead ignorance and present petitions on inadequate grounds. The Ten further declare that in all petitions for separation the canonical grounds must be set forth clearly and with precision. They also require to be precisely informed of the faults alleged by each party against the other, so that, should those faults amount to breaches of law, the accused may be committed for trial, though the ecclesiastical procedure shall still continue its course. Arch. di Stato, Cons. dei X, *Comune*, n. 235, fol. 177, I.

[1] The *Consultori* of the Republic made the following declaration: "Gli ecclesiastici, per quanto suppor si vogliano profondi conoscitori delle loro leggi, e sempre retti nel pronunziare le loro sentenze, non possono però, a motivo della loro professione, nobilissima sì, ma solo diretta alla salute spirituale delle anime, possedere la necessaria cognizione, specialmente pratica, dei vari rapporti temporali e di Stato, che spesso s'intralciano nelle cause suddette ed hanno correlazione con l'intero sistema della politica legislazione." Arch. di Stato, Capi Cons. X, *Cons. e Mem. sui Divorzi*, Bª I. It is worth noting that the *Consultori* considered divorce a less evil than too easy separation. Every time a marriage is declared void through the ignorance or wickedness of the contracting parties what evils inevitably follow! A sacrament profaned, oaths taken before the altar broken, religion offended, two persons who had vowed to love one another for ever rendered foes, the aim of matrimony deluded, the interests, honour, and peace of a family ruined, the preservation and education of offspring imperilled, public morals damaged, — in short, the most essential interests of

check divorce suits which "destroy the interests, honour, and peace of families."[1]

Dissolute manners frequently accompanied the material ruin wrought by luxury. Some few patrician families preserved their patrimony by a wise administration,[2] but many more purchased the appearance of aristocratic luxury at the price of financial disaster. Whole fortunes were eaten up in clothes, extravagances, gaming, and pleasures. Their vanity would not allow them to acquire fresh riches by trade and industry or by cutting down superfluous expenses, and many a noble family light-heartedly squandered the savings of its ancestors. The wife's property was usually administered apart from the husband's, and it was customary

Church and State infringed. And this appalling series of misfortunes is augmented in the case of separation, which is the more pernicious as it is the more frequent; for separation does not give back to the parties their original liberty and thus allow them to remarry, but holds them apart and yet united, it relaxes the bond but does not break it, while it holds two young lives to an involuntary celibacy and exposes them to a continual neglect of their duties, breeding implacable enmity and sometimes the extinction of an illustrious race. Arch. di Stato, Capi Cons. X, *Cons. e Mem. sui Divorzi*, Bª I.

[1] The decree of the Senate April 25, 1788, was intended "a metter freno alla frequenza delle cause fra coniugati, a reprimere il mal costume fra li medesimi e ad impedire le male arti degli avvocati."

[2] The following document found among the papers of the Marescalchi, of Bologna, may help to illustrate the income and expenditure of a normal thrifty patrician family. The document is entitled *Bilanzo dello scosso e speso fatto per conto della N. D. Andriana Grimani Lin sopra le rendite in essa pervenute doppo la morte del N. H. Michiel Angelo Lin* (1790). The income from rents in town and country, and interest on capital amounted to *lire* 102,387.16. I have selected the following items of expenditure, as they chiefly affect the housekeeping:

Salariati	A Salariati diversi	L. 10,304.2
	All' Agente Allegri	837
	Al Medico Stella	310
	All' Interveniente Simeoni	186
	All' Esattor Scarpa	682
		L. 12,319.2
Aggravj diversi	Mansionaria ad libitum officiata dal Cappellan di Casa	L. 561
	Alli Padri Teatini per anniversario .	46
		L. 607

for him to make a monthly allowance to his wife and children, though that rarely served to cover the expenses of their clothing.[1] They did not give much attention to administration, and at most they knew the state of their affairs only from their factor's accounts, which were frequently falsified; and they steadily refused to sanction any expenditure on the improvement of their estates, which were always badly cultivated and impoverished. Mortgages burdened their house property, and creditors clamoured for payment.[2] They readily had recourse to large loans, usually from monasteries, paying the interest, but leaving their heirs to satisfy the debt. These loans were one of the chief causes of the sudden ruin of many families at the fall of the Republic; when Napoleon suppressed the monasteries, he foreclosed the mortgages, and the nobles had to part with their estates at wretched prices to satisfy the government, which would not wait. And this ruinous carelessness could not be counteracted by the curious niggardliness occasionally to be met with, false economy which permitted squandering on mere outward show

Spese per conti diversi	In Mobili, cioè una Todeschina, e in due Armari	L. 40	L. 5,171.4
	Annuali		20.8
	In Ristauri del Palazzo di Venezia		262.5
	Nella Gondola		173.19
	In Atti Forensi, o sia di Palazzo		2,600.10
	In Spese di Fabriche		3,565.16
	In Spese di escavazion de' Rij		139.12
	In Livree		821.14
	In Vestiario alla N. D. Padrona		352.
			L. 13,107.8
Spese di mantenimento	In diverse compresa la mesata alla N. D. Prōna		L. 13,671.13
	In Cibarie ad uso di Tavola		7,224.6
	In Generi diversi		5,755.9
	In Legne		833.8
			L. 27,484.16

[1] Costantini, *Lett.*, cit., VII, 105.
[2] Ibid., VIII, 26.

while it stinted the family over necessities and comforts.[1] Baretti, noting this contradiction, common to Venetian life in general, justly remarks that no country in Europe presented such a strange mixture of avarice and prodigality.[2]

Not only were the patricians prodigal in their caprices and frequently lavish in their public benefactions[3] but their false education induced a belief that no wealth was excessive for the privileged classes, while the poor could easily be content with little. Even in their wills, where, as a rule, the human spirit is apt to show itself in its true colours, the gulf between patrician and plebeian is strongly marked. Faithful servants are usually pensioned, it is true, but never or rarely do they receive any little memento to remind them of their master, just as though their birth and education debarred them from the finer feelings.[4] The profound difference in the social scale, confirmed during the course of many centuries, had produced in the minds of the nobles the

[1] Domestic documents furnish numerous examples. For instance, a Dolfin spent thousands of *lire* on a hot-house for his country-seat, but tried to recoup himself by cutting down the gardener's wages. (Ballarini, *Lett.*, cit.) The Dogaressa Mocenigo, in 1765, consented to act as godmother to the daughter of the Governor of Cordignano, but she let him know that he must be content with bare honour, as she had no intention of making a present. Yet it was the same Mocenigo family that spent forty thousand *lire* over the *fêtes* for the election of Pietro as Procurator of San Marco.

[2] Baretti, *Gli Italiani*, cit.

[3] Venice was open to generous impulses. For instance, in 1757, a certain Gian Francesco Magno was condemned to death for defrauding the Treasury of 5974 ducats. A public subscription was opened for the relief of his derelict family, and 16,000 *lire* were collected in boxes placed in the churches.

[4] For instance, the will of the Dogaressa Morosina Morosini Grimani carefully notes a variety of precious objects which contrast strangely with the wretched things she left to her faithful maid Lucieta Hana: "uno stramazzo di letto grande di terlizze pieno di lana, et doi para di nincioli, una coltra, et una felzada"; while to her manservant Lorenzo di Savi called Nano, she bequeaths "una lettiera di ferro in forma di baldacchino, tre stramazzi, un cavezzale, un pagliarizzo, nincioli para quatro. Item doi coltre, una bianca ed una di color, bone. Item doi filzade, cioè una di griso rosso, et una bianca da Roma, bone. Tovagioli di lino numero vinti et di stoppa numero vinti et quattro mantilli da credenciera novi."

conviction that the people belonged to another race of beings with other blood in their veins.

On the other hand, if the patricians of senatorial rank behaved harshly and proudly towards the impoverished nobility or towards the rich citizens whom the needs of the State had raised to the patriciate, they did not disdain to treat the people with familiarity, being assured that the lower classes would never presume to take advantage of such condescension. And it frequently happened that a noble would accept the position and relationship of godfather to a child of the people.[1] But such an act was merely a condescension on the part of the patrician,[2] whereas among the people it was a religious bond implying affection and chivalrous attachment; and to defend the *compare* or

[1] The nobleman Giantommaso Soranzo, writing to his daughter Caterina, thus describes a *comparesimo di San Zuane*: "Tu sai che io doveva essere padrino, come fui, di un figlio del figlio di *Barba* Nicolò da Castello. Fu stabilito pel battesimo il dopo pranzo. Barba Nicolò alle ore 22 circa venne da me vestito da gala con superbo tabarro *bleu*, ch' egli conservava con estrema diligenza e che in tre anni non aveva mai toccato pioggia. Il tempo era minaccioso ed io gliel' ho pronosticato. Rispose negativamente e ci ponemmo in viaggio per Castello. Pervenuti a mezza strada cominciò a piovigginare, egli affrettava il passo, ed io ridevo fra me; fattasi poi pioggia dirotta, diedesi a gambe, dicendo che si affrettava, affine di avvertire che recassero il bambino in barca per tradurlo in chiesa. Passarono alcuni momenti e me lo vidi ricomparire con tabarro ordinarissimo e con altro cappello. Compiuto il ceremoniale vollero a tutta forza che mi recassi dalla puerpera e ci andai. La trovai in istanzetta decente, in buon letto, con lenzuola di buona tela di bucato, e cuscini con guarnizione e merletti. Era vestita di bianco con cuffia in testa e parecchi anelli nelle dita. Fatti alcuni semplici e lieti discorsi con la puerpera, e quei della casa intervenuti nella camera, sopraggiunto il canonico che battezzò, ci portarono acqua di cedro, caffè con guantiera che sembrava d'argento e varie maniere di ciambelle. Finalmente giunse il cipro, che si disse squisito, ma io non ne bevetti. Mi trattenni alcun poco ancora, indi mi licenziai dalla brigata." Jacopo Bernardi, *Affetti e dolori alla memoria di una Madre*, p. 25. Pinerolo, 1860. Patricians would also act as sponsors for converted Jews who would assume their godfather's name. Hence the frequency of patrician names among the people.

[2] Baretti (*Gli Italiani*, cit., p. 156) says that the patricians of Venice "riguardo ai loro inferiori, sebbene in apparenza parlino loro con bontà, si può facilmente scorgere che vorrebbero piuttosto imprimer loro il timore della superiorità che esserne amati."

the *sántolo*, if attacked, was a point of personal honour. Whoever failed to do so was held all but a parricide and despicable as a coward. The attitude of the patricians was suggested to them by political and social reasons rather than by kindly feeling; but the result was the same, namely, a close bond of union between the nobles and the people. There was no haughty command on the one side, no servile obedience on the other, but rather a kind of rivalry in giving orders gently and in carrying them out cheerfully. At the close of the Seicento a foreigner observes with surprise that "liberty is so great throughout the entire domains of the Republic that a master has not the right to thrash his valet"[1]; and in truth there were but few cases in which we find an insolent noble so far forgetting himself as to strike an inferior.[2] The Venetian patriciate did not arrogate to itself this barbarous right, in use among other peoples, but respected the dignity of man in the lower classes; nay, if any one used violence to the people, these would have recourse to the nobles in the certainty of finding protection and justice.

This familiarity between the two classes, which in reality were so profoundly divided, permitted even of practical joking. Benigna, in his *Memorie*, gives us an example. The Loggetta of the Campanile, when it was not being used by the Procurators on guard during sittings of the Great Council, was intrusted to the bell-ringer for his private use. One day in February, 1729, the Procurator, Girolamo Giustinian, begged the bell-ringer to grant him the loan of the terrace on the top of the Loggetta, whence he and his friends might witness the show of Maundy Thursday. The bell-ringer replied that as he paid the rent he intended to keep the Loggetta for his own use; to which his Excellency retorted, "You are quite right; you are master of the

[1] Payen, *Les Voy.*, cit., p. 190.
[2] Costantini, *Lett.*, cit., III, 156.

Campanile, but I am master of the Loggetta"; and he had a great staircase built on the outside, completely blocking up the bell-ringer's door.[1] At that date in no other country would a nobleman so highly placed as Giustinian have tolerated the bell-ringer's reply, nor yet would he, even in jest, have built a stair to reach the terrace.[2]

With their equals and with foreigners the nobles showed a readiness to friendly expansion; were prompt to speak and apparently with perfect frankness, without mystery and without guile, as open and above-board as possible; but, in truth, they were cunning by tradition, wrapt in an impenetrable cloak, impossible to fathom.[3] This art of concealment governed their actions. A malicious foreigner observes with sardonic pleasure that, on the *broglio*, by the doors of the Palace, those who in the Senate chamber had sued for favours and been refused were welcomed with embraces and kisses by the

[1] Benigna, *Mem.*, cit., February 24, 1728, m. v.

[2] "Si le Ciel m'avoit laissé en naissant la permission de choisir ma patrie, je serois né Hollandois ou Vénitien . . . La République de Venise agit envers ses citoyens comme une mère tendre, mais sévère, qui veut accabler ses enfants de bienfaits, et qui cependant, jalouse de son autorité, ne leur permet point de pénétrer dans ses desseins." So writes a judge not too well disposed towards Venice, the Marquis D'Argens, in his *Lettres Juives*, IV, 54. Lausanne, 1750.

[3] Baretti (*Gli Italiani*, cit., p. 156) says: "I nobili, non giudicando se non dall' apparenza, pare che come gli altri veneziani si amino e si accarezzino reciprocamente; se s'incontrano si salutano, si abbracciano e si fanno mille dimostrazioni di cordialità; ma ci vuol poco per conoscere che tutte queste cortesie non sono d'ordinario che pure finzioni. I membri di un' aristocrazia non possono essere suscettibili di questi teneri sentimenti, perchè la loro rivalità nella magistratura li rende insensibili ad ogni altra cosa, e per conseguenza alle dolcezze dell' amicizia." Freschot (*Rel.*, cit., p. 369) is harsher and more unjust: "En général les Vénitiens sont comme les autres Italiens, dissimulés, vindicatifs et portés à la débauche." A century earlier Payen (*Les Voy.*, cit., p. 138) is kindly in his remarks: "Leur conversation est tout à fait douce et agréable; leur amitié, quand ils l'ont promise est fidelle; et leur prévoyance est si exacte, que rien n'est capable de les surprendre; les accidens les moins faciles à digérer ne servent qu'à nous faire admirer la force de leur courage, la fermeté de leur esprit, et la grandeur de leur vertu."

very men who had rejected their petitions.[1] Astuteness and dissimulation were all that survived of the ancient statecraft which once, in spite of its dubious cunning, had known, when need was, how to reach wise resolutions, take vigorous counsels, and maintain its dignity under every fortune.

A high conception of the greatness of their state was rooted in the minds of the patricians, but rather as a matter of personal pride than as a source of counsel and aid against doubt and weakness.[2] The further they declined, the more they imagined themselves like their ancestors, and, firmly convinced that the Republic was an exemplar to all other nations, they paid no heed to other history than their own; with the exception of those who had served on embassies, or had been on a journey for their own instruction, they affected complete ignorance of the conditions and the history of foreign countries. The malicious observer quoted above tells us how a Senator, finding his son reading the history of France, took the book from his hands, exclaiming, "You blockhead, study the history of your own Republic, and leave the rest alone."[3] Hence arose the ambition to attain to the highest offices, and the employment of all, even of illicit, means to compass their end. Such distinguished personages as Marco Foscarini and Paolo Renier were not above using bribery to secure election to the Dukedom, though in their case the motive was a noble desire to dedicate themselves to their country's service, whereas in others it was the merest personal vanity, and they fulfilled their constitu-

[1] Amelot de la Houssaye, *Hist. du Gouv. de Venise*, Part III. Paris, 1677.

[2] "Les nobles vénitiens sont graves, fiers, infatués de la grandeur de leur rang et les esclaves de leurs dignitez." D'Argens, *Lettres Juives*, cit., II, 121.

[3] Amelot de la Houssaye, op. cit. Baretti (loc. cit.), a century later, observes that "i veneziani sono, al pari degli inglesi, pieni di stima per sè stessi, ma non costumano come gl'inglesi di censurare i loro vicini."

tional duties with indifference and boredom.[1] It is only when success costs effort that men preserve their energy; and the very softness of the climate, the unfavourable conditions of the site, which the earlier Venetians had been forced to face and overcome, under the stern necessity of creating their country and amassing fortune, now inclined the later Venetians to that indolence of temper which by common accord is laid to the door of the *scirocco*. The earlier Venetians, vigorous in character, sought their fortunes where they could find them, but their flaccid descendants, finding all the comforts of life secured to them by the toil of their ancestors, abandoned themselves to the silence and the quiet of their native city; they ate punctually, made love without passion, and begat children who repeated the lives of their parents.[2]

In appearance, at least, there was always *brio* and movement in the outer life of the place, and it seemed as though the incessant labour, the fruitful energy, so vigorously developed by the creators of Venice, had been transformed into a need for amusement, and pleasure so restless and imperious that it hardly left time for sleep. But this feverish activity could not cloak the enfeeblement of spirit and of moral fibre. Beckford, the Englishman, for example, tells us of Senators who, after addressing the House, taking a walk in the Piazza, passing from one gambling-saloon to another till dawn, would take to the gondola,

[1] Giovanni Pindemonte, enrolled in the Venetian patriciate, says: "Le sessioni del Senato in altro non consistono che in una filza di decreti sopra materie interne, i quali con una rapidità incredibile sono letti e poco o nulla ascoltati dai Senatori, i quali intanto o passeggiano o ragionano fra loro di bagattelle e di amori, o se è stagione invernale stannosi al fuoco nella sala contigua; e poi insieme son ballottati e la sessione si scioglie: ed allora son tutti allegri e giulivi per presto liberarsi dalla seccaggine, come essi la chiamano, d'un *Pregadi* lungo, e dicono fra di loro esultando: *Pregai curto, Pregai curto*, ed è cagione di tal letizia il potersi più tosto alle lor gozzoviglie restituire." Pindemonte, G., *Poesie e lett. raccolte ed ill.* da G. Biadego, p. 341. Bologna, 1883.

[2] Rabany, *C. Goldoni*, p. 188. Paris, 1896.

and, rowing across the lagoon to Mestre or Fusina, would set out for Treviso, breakfast there in a hurry, and return to Venice in a hurly-burly, as though the devil had been on the box. At eleven the Great Council met; they would don their robe and periwig, and rush off to the Palace. But all this activity, which, even if fruitless, would still be an indication of vitality, did not deceive the acute English observer. These brief moments of a false and morbid activity were due to an effort of nerves exhausted by antecedent debauch; the need for restorative slumber, combated by an immoderate indulgence in coffee, rendered the Venetians feeble and flaccid, and the temptation to abandon themselves to the ease of the gondola fostered this indolence, which was almost as marked as among the orientals, who, thanks to their abuse of opiates and the harem, pass their lives in a perpetual stupor.[1]

Consanguineous marriages also contributed largely to the decadence in moral and physical fibre. In early Venice the mixture, first with the Romans then with the Greeks, helped the development of the race; but as time went on, it began to feel the evil consequences of that intimate conjunction inside each social class in the State, imposed on it both by its rigidly aristocratic organization and by the nature of its site, which prevented permanent immigration or emigration. During the closing years of the Republic, when the habit of making large dowries was beginning to tell on family estates, it became the custom to make matrimonial alliances only with families who could give as much as they received; this led to frequent marriages between persons not only of the same social caste, but also of the same stock,[2] and this was the chief cause of the degeneration of the race. Certain physical and mental qualities of the ancient aristocracy were transmitted, it is true; the

[1] Beckford, *Italy*, cit., pp. 22, 23.
[2] [Casanova] *Confut. all' Amelot*, cit., III, 229.

conquering spirit of the early Venetians survived in the haughty conception of the position of Venice among nations; the countenance still retained the antique stamp of superiority, with certain marked features, such as the imperious, aquiline nose. Some of the nobles still preserved that imprint of severity which distinguishes the portraits by Titian and Veronese[1]; and this exterior aspect was not entirely belied by the inner character, for the Venetian patriciate had not fallen so low but that it could furnish examples of moral and intellectual worth, even in its last years.[2] Down to the very last, the old tree could still put forth some vigorous shoots; the enfeebled energies were from time to time refreshed by new power, which in other times and under other conditions would have sufficed to check the decay of the political organism and to correct the poverty of ideas and the careless living of the upper classes.

Religious sentiment, which if sincere, has a powerful effect on the life of a nation, had little virtue now to correct and raise the general tone. So intimate a part does the supernatural play in the life of a people that we find all the great republics of the Middle Ages obeying the instinct to create a national saint; as at Genoa they chose St. George, so at Venice they selected St. Mark, and the Lion of the Evangelist gathered and guarded under his wing all the glories of the lagoon Republic. But a people which has accepted a single religion is apt to decline along with the decline and corruption of that cult; the efficacy of the religious

[1] Moore, *Lettres d'un voyag. anglois*, etc., trans., III, 196. Lausanne, 1782. Payen (loc. cit.) says: "Les nobles vénitiens sont d'une taille, médiocre et d'un poil brun; leur phisionomie ne marque qu'un grand esprit, que beaucoup de discretion, et qu'un cœur noble et généreux."

[2] "Il y a dans Venise des nobles d'un mérite distingué," says De La Lande. And even scurrilous Goudar, in his *Espion Chinois*, after noting the vices of the nobles, is forced to conclude thus: "Cependant toutes les vertus à Venise ne sont pas entièrement éteintes; on trouve encore dans cette République de grands hommes, qui joignent aux qualités d'illustres citoyens les sublimes vertus des Romains dont ils sont issus."

sentiment is better preserved and renewed by the conflict between various beliefs, which, in their struggle with one another, keep faith alive. The forms of Catholicism grew old in their immobility, nor did the reactionary discipline of the Council of Trent avail to lend them fresh vigour.

Throughout Italy the religious sense, which purifies the spirit and strengthens the domestic affections, was gradually dying, and its place was being taken by that attitude of hypocrisy which marks the Seicento. There were still to be found faithful souls who laid to rest the doubts, the pains, the bitternesses of life, in the bosom of their active belief, and religion was universally recognised as the bond of public order; but for many religion was confined to outward ceremonies and superstitious observances. In Venice religion, with its churches and its magnificent functions, had grown material and appealed more to the senses than to the heart.[1] "Fine churches," says Freschot, "and the office celebrated with the greatest pomp; a crowd of people at every festival; but with all that, so little concentration and attention to the prayers that it is impossible to attribute to the multitude any deep or solid devotion."[2] Religious processions sometimes seemed like profane and even loose spectacles, and handsome lads and pretty girls played the *rôle* of angels and saints in flying robes and suggestive poses.[3] Church music

[1] Payen, *Les Voy.*, cit., p. 191.

[2] Freschot, *Relation*, cit., p. 372. And another foreigner writes: "Au reste, quoy que le culte des Images et des Reliques, et beaucoup d'autres superstitions regnent à Venise, cela n'est guères que parmi le peuple, auquel on veut bien laisser ces amusemens: les Esprits distinguez ne se soucient ni de cela ni d'autre chose." [Misson], *Nouv. Voy.*, cit., p. 264. The Marquis D'Argens (*Lettres Juives*, cit., II, 123), with temerarious judgment, praises the Venetians, not only for having their spirit free of all bigotry, but for permitting in their city every form of religion, and adds: "Les Vénitiens croient médiocrement en Dieu, fort peu au Pape, et beaucoup à Saint Marc."

[3] D'Emiliane, *Hist. des tromperies des prestres et des moines*, II, 194. Rotterdam, 1727.

aimed rather at pleasing the congregation than at inspiring devotion[1]; preachers made use of every oratorical trick of voice and gesture, with the intent not so much to stir the souls of their hearers as to win their applause and their alms.

Devotion, especially among the upper classes, was the easy way to obtain pardon for every kind of error, and indulgence for excesses in love and in gambling.[2] The eighteenth-century proverb, "In the morning a little Mass, after dinner a little gamble, in the evening a little woman," quite expresses one side of Venetian character. Bigotry, void of faith, was easily satisfied with external observances. De La Lande tells the story of an Englishman who, going into a church, omitted to kneel at the elevation; whereupon a Senator courteously took him to task. The Englishman replied that he did not believe in transubstantiation. "No more do I," said the Senator; "but kneel as I do, or else leave the church."[3] But side by side with this respect for conventions, we find a conduct little suited to the

[1] There is a decree of the Provveditori di Comune, dated February 1, 1639, providing in the churches of the Confraternities "di ridur le musiche solite farsi nelle solenità festive a quella regola decorosa et devota, che ben corisponda alla pietà publica, mentre son passati gli abusi a tal segno, che non solo negli habiti de' musici medemi, ma etiandio negl' instrumenti musicali et nelle parole che si cantano, si vede anzi riguardarsi il dileto degli ascoltanti che la divottione. . . . Quindi, si proibisce l'uso d'instrumenti bellici, come sono trombe, tamburi et simili, più accomodati ad usarsi negli esserciti che nella casa di Dio; similmente si obligano li musici tutti, così ecclesiastici come secolari, nell' atto di servire alle musiche, di andar vestiti con le cotte, habito proprio da usarsi nelle chiese; et finalmente non si permette che in esse musiche sia fatta trasposizione di parole, overo cantate parole inventate da novo et non descritte sopra libri sacri," etc. B. [Brunelli], *Una mariegola venez.* (in the *Dalmata*, Zara, September 2, 1905.

[2] The Baron de Poelnitz (*Lett. et Mem.*, cit., p. 93), who, however, is no authority on the point of morals, says: "Dieu y est autant exemplairement servi qu'en un autre lieu du monde. Peu de personnes observent mieux l'extérieur de la Religion que les Italiens en général, et les Vénitiens en particulier. On peut dire d'eux, qu'ils passent une partie de leur vie à mal faire, e l'autre à en demander pardon à Dieu."

[3] De La Lande, *Voy.*, VII, 38.

Lord's house; the young men, though feigning to attend to the service, did not hesitate to make love to "the women, so *décolletées* that their bosoms were open to the lewd gaze of their admirers." So says Brusoni, who, though himself no saint, yet deplored "the detestable abuse which permits women to go to church, not to appease the anger of God by prayer, but rather to provoke it by the vanity of their dress and carriage."[1] Another writer, a poet of the Seicento, says:

Ai perdoni se va per far bordelo
La messa serve per andar a spasso.[2]

In vain the Council of Ten endeavoured to ensure respect for the churches, and forbade women to attend religious functions immodestly dressed, threatening to punish fathers and husbands who should connive.[3] On December 8, 1776, a public officer reports that at a solemn function in San Salvadore he had surprised a young couple in amorous converse, while little groups of laughing patricians chattered about all sorts of subjects, ogled the ladies, criticised, exchanged jokes and salutations without the smallest regard for the majesty of the sacred edifice.[4] It was the same in most of the churches.[5] Among the people the religious sentiment was more lively, but it was disturbed and overlaid by a thousand superstitions. Even among the upper classes could still be found nobles who believed in the philosopher's stone, the elixir of life, and judicial astrology; and so among the people there was a rooted credence in witchcraft, incantations, and divinations. Witches were to be found who, like the old witch of Murano, to whom Casanova was taken when a boy,

[1] Brusoni, *Il carroccino alla moda*, cit., pp. 242, 243.

[2] Businello, *El tempo d'adesso*, Satires, cit.

[3] Arch. di Stato, Cons. X, *Comune*, March 10, 1783, March 10, 1794, March 13, 1797. Costantini (*Lettere*, cit., I, 180) says they even went to church masked.

[4] Arch. di Stato, *Inquis. di Stato*, December 8, 1776, B[a] 141.

[5] Saint-Didier, op. cit.

distributed their potions and exercised their vocation.[1] Vulgar errors and superstitions were common then and now, and many of them may be found in other countries than Venice, such as thirteen at table, the spilling of salt, unlucky Friday, spiders' webs, and so on.[2] Others again are purely local, such as the superstition against passing between the two columns of the Piazzetta where public executions took place; a superstition confirmed by the fate of Marino Faliero, who died by the hand of justice, for on the day of his election as Doge he passed between the columns.

Family education was no more effective than religious sentiment in the formation of character. Early in the Seicento Jesuitical hypocrisy began to infiltrate. During the last two centuries of the Republic we note a great

[1] Casanova, *Mem.*, cit., I, 22.

[2] Dario Varotari, a Venetian poet of the seventeenth century, in his satires (*Il Vespaio stuzzicato*, Sat. VI. Venezia, 1671), mentions and condemns various vulgar errors; for instance, the superstition about thirteen at table:

Se in quela sacra e venerabil Cena
Tredese i gera a tola, uno tradì;
Ma che v'importa e che m'importa a mi
Che un Giuda avesse del morir la pena?

Guardève pur da colpe e da pecai
E stè tredese a tola degnamente,
No ve smarì, no abiè timor de gnente,
Che 'l numero morir no puol far mai.

On the subject of spilling the salt he says:

Ma fermève: andè pian. Forse è la colpa
De la saliera che sarà trop'alta;
E se l'urta per caso, e la rebalta
Stramba una man perchè mo el sal se incolpa?

On unlucky Friday:

Sento un altro tintin de campanela
Che no bisogna scomenzar impresa
O far viazo, o far solene spesa
Se de Venere è 'l zorno. Ela mo bela?

Varotari attacks other prejudices with equal acuteness and good sense. See Musatti, Ces., *I pregiud. volg. combattuti da un verseggiatore Venez.* (in the *Illustraz. Veneta e Adriatica.* Venezia, January 11, 1907).

activity in the publication of books of sage advice on education; and all of them prove, if proof were needed, that good counsel avails little in unfavourable times and circumstances.[1] The work of Antonino Colluraffi da Librizzi, tutor to the three patrician brothers, Vittorio, Marco, and Giacomo Donà,[2] sums up the maxims preached by the pedagogues of the Seicento. Colluraffi demonstrates that to the perfect education of a Venetian noble — in comparison with which all other schemes of education are "as the point to the line, as the unit among numerals" — go knowledge of foreign languages, the habit of travel, study of law and mathematics, acquaintance with military discipline, even though it be true that the statesman has more need for eloquence than for arms. A fine presence is of great value, and he who possesses it should carefully preserve it and not employ it in the service of his senses and his pleasures. He will not, therefore, pass his days in sloth, but will train his limbs to agility by appropriate exercises, such as running, jumping, wrestling, riding, the chase, football, but, above all, swimming, not only because it serves to strengthen the body, "but because the city stands in the sea and has dominion over the sea, and the nobleman will be called upon in the course of his career to cross the sea to fill various offices or to treat with other cities, and if he knows not how to swim there is manifest peril of his drowning." When once the youth has assumed the robe, it is his duty to win the good graces of his colleagues. In soliciting appointments let him not exceed in promises; let him charm, but not tempt; yield, but not humiliate himself; acquire honours by merit, not by gold; by desert, but not by banquets. But in the midst of these abstract

[1] See Cicogna, *Bibliografia*, pp. 538, 539, for a list of books on education, published in Venice and dedicated to Venetians.

[2] *Il Nobile Veneto*, by D. Antonino Colluraffi da Librizzi. Venezia, Muschio, 1623.

maxims the true facts of the case do not escape the good preceptor, and he is forced to admit that many nobles not only neglect their public duties, but ruin their private estates, spending their nights in gambling-saloons, and squandering such sums of money that the family resources run short and the family prestige is obscured.

Education became more and more a specious falsehood. In families where the vicious system was not combated by genuine affection and intimacy,[1] the parents had neither the ability nor the leisure to attend to their children. The father was immersed in worldly affairs, in the discharge of his public duties, in the splendour of his house and the claims of his rank; the mother was devoted to her parties, the assemblies of the great world, her dress, and her lovers. To nurse her children herself would have seemed to her to be imitating the people, and no sooner was her confinement over than she returned to her wonted amusements.[2] The children, when weaned, were handed over to the care of domestics, for the most part ignorant, superstitious, and heartless, and if from the

[1] The distinguished spirits who honour Venice even in her decadence are enough to prove that sound and good education was not neglected in some families. A lady who has been the object of many attacks, Caterina Dolfin Tron, to whom we cannot deny generosity of heart and power of intellect, thus describes the education she received from her father Giannantonio Dolfin: "Mi ricordo, ch'ei non volea limitare la mia fantasia alla creazione d'infiniti nulla, che tra i vezzi, la bellezza e le grazie restringer non voleva il mio Regno; nè sopra ai pianti, ed ai sospiri altrui stabilita la mia riputazione. Mi ricordo che i doveri di nostra santa Religione, e quelli tutti di Società, voleva, che per principj sapessi, e che in forza d'una ben intesa riflessione ne restassi persuasa, per così formarmi un cuore più resistente a tutte quelle seducenti passioni, che signoreggiano il nostro sesso. Negli affari domestici voleami istrutta ed instancabile nell' industriosamente trattarli; e per fine amava, ch'io le arti, e le scienze tanto apprendessi, quanto potessero bastar a rendermi cara la solitudine, e sopportabile quella uniforme noja, alla quale col giro degli anni, e collo sparir degli umili adoratori siamo pur troppo noi meschine Donne soggette." Dolfin, Cat., *Sonetti in morte di Gio. Antonio Dolfin*, pp. 10, 11. Venezia, 1767.

[2] Costantini, *Lettere*, cit., VIII, 26.

country quickly ruined by the atmosphere of the palace.[1] Always splendidly dressed in the oddest of costumes[2] when out of doors, but indoors slovenly clad, the child grew up spoiled by the dangerous indulgence of the hypocritical and tale-telling servants,[3] who humoured every whim of the future master; they gave him the title of *zelenza* from the very first, and poured into his ears tales of his father's possessions, his palaces, his villas, his income. It was not affection, but the rigorous observation of formal respect, that parents expected of their children; each morning, with a profound bow, they were expected to kiss the hand of *sior padre* and *siora madre*, nor might they speak nor sit down without leave.[4]

Children from their earliest days were brought up not to study but rather to attend to deportment. The dancing-master was a personage in the household; he taught the children how to shake hands, when to smile,

[1] Gaspare Gozzi, in his *Sermone contro alla corruzione dei costumi presenti* (op. cit., XI, 396), thus describes the early education of a nobleman's children:

Col cagnuolin, col bertuccin, col merlo,
S'accomandano a' servi; lor custodi
Sono un tempo le fanti, indi i famigli
Malcrĕati, idĭoti, e spesso brutti
D'ogni magagna e d'ogni vizio infami.
Questi le prime, questi son le prime
Lanterne che fan lume a' primi passi
Delle vite novelle.

[2] Saint-Didier (*La Ville et la Rép.*, cit., p. 280) wishes to see a proof of blind affection on the part of parents in the care with which they dressed their children; no sooner had the young ones reached the age of five or six than they were dressed in black, with cloaks trimmed with silk lace, or gold or silver braid, and with high-heeled shoes. Baretti (*Gli Italiani*, cit., p. 25), writing a century later, is of the same opinion, remarking that "i padri e le madri, le stesse persone più distinte fanno passeggiare sulla piazza di San Marco i loro figli vestiti da ussari, da sultane, da pastori, da pastorelle."

[3] Saint-Didier, loc. cit.

[4] The Canon Cesare Gattoni, in his book on the *Educazione cristiana*, written in the early years of the nineteenth century, regrets the disappearance of the rigid etiquette which so strongly hedged in the social life of the upper classes.

grammar, poetry, rhetoric, logic, and history, preparatory to the three years' course in philosophy.[1] But the intellectual gain was slight[2]; nor was that of the spirit any better: the youths went to school with their own vices and came away with their own and others.[3] After college most of them took a two years' course of jurisprudence at home. Few went to the University of Padua, as their parents dreaded the freedom of student life, which had become riotous and turbulent.[4]

[1] Belloni, *Il Seicento*, p. 11. Milano, Vallardi.

[2] Arthur Young (*Voy.*, cit., p. 109), speaking of the lack of education among the nobles, says, with his usual exaggeration, not wholly without truth: "Les hommes du premier rang y sont ignorans à un point qui fait honte au siècle éclairé dans lequel nous vivons . . . une indulgence pernicieuse les empêche de rien apprendre: cela est si général, et a une influence si étendue, que si l'organisation de ce gouvernement n'étoit pas si parfaite, il y a long-temps que cette seule cause l'auroit culbuté."

[3] Costantini, *Lett.*, cit., IV, 132.

[4] Curti, *Mem.*, cit., I, 239, 241. In the last two centuries of the Republic the students of Padua had grown prompt to riot, and notwithstanding the continual care of the authorities, mad escapades, especially at the expense of the Jews, were common, as also bloody brawls between the students and the townsfolk. The police were obliged to enter the University itself and the private lodgings of the students. In 1722 they forced a private house on the Piazza dei Signori to arrest some students, and blood was shed; but the prudent government did not approve of excessive measures; they punished the police with "gallows, galleys, and close prison," and put a commemorative tablet on the wall of the house, "a perpetua memoria e della pubblica giustizia e della pubblica costante protezione verso la Prediletta insigne Università dello Studio di Padova." Another tablet was placed on the wall of the University to record a terrible crime committed in 1657 by the student Giovanni Battista Tonesio, who assassinated Dr. Guido Antonio Albanese, public reader, "per ingiustissima ed iniquissima causa del promajori havuto nel suo dottorato." The reports of the podestà and captains of Padua frequently mention the students' insolence; for example, the imposition of a tax of five, six, eight, and even ten crowns upon those who matriculated, and the seizure of their cloak, or even threats against their life, if they refused to pay; or again, the interruption of lectures by banging on the desks; or the illegal bearing of arms, and so on. *Relaz. dei Podestà G. B. Foscarini* (1614) *e Giov. Pisani* (1638), cit. by Belloni, *Il Seicento*, p. 471, n. 35. Burnet (*Voy. de Suisse, d'Italie, etc.*, p. 235. Rotterdam, 1688) says: "Une chose qui lui (that is the University) fait tort est le peu d'ordre qu'on tient pour les Écoliers, qui sont sans cesse en division entr'eux. Cela empêche fort les étrangers d'y aller étudier; car on y est tellement contraint, qu'aussi-tôt que le soleil est couché, on n'oseroit plus sortir de la maison." In 1677 (January 5)

Saint-Didier, however, notes that in the midst of this dearth of instruction and of culture there were to be found some young men who had a liking for study.[1] Not every one had forgotten the good old customs; and more than one young patrician, before entering on his political career, would make a tour in Europe with the consent of the government, or would accompany some ambassador to his post, and so repair in part the defects of his foolish home training.[2] Nor must we forget that the Academy of the Nobles on the Giudecca gave a sound and careful education to those few impoverished patricians who were entitled to receive it. It is to be remembered, however, that this thorough education awoke aspirations in the breasts of these beggared nobles which their future could not satisfy, and consequently bred in them discontent and envy of their richer peers.

The class of the secretaries had more modest desires, and was well content with its social position; it was composed of honest and well-educated men, who took a share in all the action of the Senate, the Ten, the Inquisitors, and the various Embassies, and gradually came to exercise a growing influence on the policy of the State.[3]

The middle class, the so-called bourgeoisie, was engaged in the liberal professions, in industry and commerce, and although not very enterprising, made

the Tuscan Resident writes: "Gli scolari o *giovani discoli* di Padova di notte tempo han preso a schioppettate il mausoleo di Gattamelata." Arch. di Stato, Firenze, *Lett. Res.*, cit., file 3040, fol. 8vo.

[1] Saint-Didier, op. cit., p. 282.

[2] Among the young nobles who went abroad to study countries, men, and manners, we may record the Giovanelli brothers, who have left an account of their journey in a manuscript now in the Town Library at Treviso (MS. n. 407). The codex was published for Prince Albert Giovanelli by C. A. Levi, with notes, and contains: *Lettere XXX di viaggi fatti per la Germania, Boemia, Fiandra, Olanda, Inghilterra, Francia ed Italia dalle loro Eccellenze Giov. Andrea e Giov. Benedetto fratelli Giovanelli fu di Gio. Paolo e loro permanenza nelle principali Corti scritte da uno di essi (Gio. Ben.) ad un amico, nei viaggi stessi cioè dall' anno 1745 al 1750.* Bergamo, 1907.

[3] Romanin, *St.*, IX, 16.

sufficient gains, favoured as it was by privileges from the government, and supported by the traditional good taste of the race which rendered Venice, even mid the decline of her art and industry, the place which still furnished the mainland with all that adorns life. The middle class indulged no hostile feelings towards the aristocracy, and any little signs of envy were confined to a sort of rivalry in display, an emulation in luxury, which attempted to balance the pride in ancient lineage by the ostentatious vanity of new-gotten wealth. The noble emulated blood-royal, the citizen copied the nobles, the merchant the citizen, and the shopkeeper the merchant.[1] The middle class, however, was not corrupt, though De La Lande is perhaps excessively indulgent when he declares that the citizen family, as a rule, lived a retired life, far from the gaming-saloons and without the *cicisbei*.[2] That is not strictly true, though it is a fact that the middle class and the people, rather than the aristocracy, knew how to wed the enjoyment of life to a certain severity of moral tone. This was especially the case in Venice, where, to quote a foreigner,[3] the people were of a better character than in any other Italian city; Montesquieu[4] is even more explicit, and calls them the best in the world. The middle class and the people certainly did feel the corrupting influence and example of the great, but it reached the modest households in a feebler and less pernicious form.[5] The cases where some of the bourgeoisie, either from frivolity or

[1] Costantini, *Lett.*, cit., III, 87.

[2] De La Lande, *Voy.*, cit., VII, 31. Even Mutinelli, in his libel on the dead Republic, is forced to confess that the merchant and artisan classes lived a patriarchal life. On the habits of the Venetian people and on Venice in general during the eighteenth century Philippe Monnier has just published some pages full of poetry and affection in his *Venise au XVIII siècle*. Paris, 1907.

[3] Coyer, *Voy.*, cit., II, 45.

[4] Montesquieu, *Voyages*, I, 23. Bordeaux, 1894.

[5] Baretti (*Gli Italiani*, cit., p. 156) says that "la bontà era molto più rara nella nobiltà che nel popolo."

vanity, or to follow the fashion, endeavoured to pass outside the limits of their rank, can be met by cases of others who remained modestly and wisely inside.[1]

Goldoni represents to us the *buona famiglia*, most careful in all details of domestic government; the clever wife, sharp-tongued but honest, no spendthrift, and quite content with her gown (*cotus*)[2]; the girls carefully guarded; the boys either timid (*mami*) or scapegraces, but not vicious; the servants cunning and gossiping, but faithful. The *rusteghi* under their rude exterior hide kind hearts; and it is not out of harshness that Leonardo the merchant keeps his wife and daughters in such close bonds, and forbids them to go to the theatre or to any entertainment, but because he is resolved to live in his own house "with scrupulous sobriety, as did his father." "Girls should stay at home and not go gallivanting about," says Leonardo. In another play the "honest maiden," complaining that Venetian women were treated as a bundle of good-for-nothings, exclaims: "By the blood of Diana, it is not so! In this country the girls have plenty of brains, and live by excellent rules, such as, perhaps, you would find in no other country in the world."[3] A foreign writer says: "The young girls, brought up in the good Venetian custom, are shut up in their houses, always occupied with their work, and at most are allowed to run to the window for a moment. They never go out, except to go to Mass on Sundays, and then they are made to walk before their mothers or some old female relation."[4] The girls also

[1] Masi, *Scelta di Com. di C. Goldoni*, cit., II, 301, n. 3.

[2] A modest garment much in use in Venice.

[3] Goldoni, *Puta onorata*, Act I, sc. xiii.

[4] Winne de Rosemberg, *Pièces morales et sentimentales*, p. 237. Londres, 1785. Lamberti (*Mem.*, cit., II, 83): "Le donne del ceto popolare erano pure di un naturale allegro e vivace, di modi facili, e d'aria disinvolta. Avevano maniere sì fattamente vezzeggiative, che disponevano facilmente gli animi in loro favore. Rimarcavansi per altro curiose e loquaci, e troppo dolci di cuore, ma dall' altro canto non poteansi comunemente tacciare di venalità. La differenza che rimarcavasi fra le donne educate

went out to attend those public schools which were opened in every parish, and where, for a small fee, they were taught to read, write, and sew.[1]

And so, amid all the luxury and corruption, the type of family life among the people remained intact.[2] In some houses of artisans, seamen, and gondoliers there was to be found even a certain amount of comfort. Menego, in the *Puta onorata*, says: "We keep our houses with decency and decorum." On the table you might see silver plate,[3] and in the kitchen platters of copper and pewter ranged along the walls; in the bedrooms the high bedsteads, with their clean mattresses, had white sheets trimmed with lace. Everywhere was the love of order and of cleanliness, and an air of peace. The hanging lamps, with swaying lights, sent a dim ray through the kitchen, where the cheerful table was spread. The fable or the legend which the granny tells to the children burns up with the flames on the hearthstone. Rarely did a man of the people take his wife to the tavern; his daughters, never; and except on *feste*, or the last days of Carnival, the women stayed at home,[4] attending to their household work and singing among themselves or repeating the simple prayers handed down from the past.[5]

e civili e quelle del basso popolo, consisteva in ciò, che le prime partecipavano dei pregi, e dei difetti delle donne nobili e cittadinesche, e che le altre invece teneano molto più all'antico carattere nazionale e si pregiavano d'una quasi rusticità, riguardo all'onestà, ed al decoro serbando gli inveterati usi e costumi. Erano perciò più religiose e contenute, e quantunque più rozze e ignoranti delle educate, riuscivano assai migliori mogli e madri, e più accurate amministratrici delle loro famiglie."

[1] Curti, *Mem.*, cit., I, 224.

[2] Lamberti, *Mem.*, cit., I, 260.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Ibid.

[5] See Bernoni, *Raccolta*. Venezia, 1873. Here is an example:

PATER NOSTER PICHENIN.

Pater noster pichenin,
Su l'altar de l'oselin;
L'oselin al giera verto,
E San Piero giera scoverto;
Varda in quà
Varda in là,
Varda su quela finestrela:
Ghe xe 'na colomba bianca e bela;
Cossa la gà in beco;
'Na bronza de fogo benedeto;

On the occasion of a wedding or a baptism, the men were all dressed out with silver buckles on their shoes and gold chains hanging from their fobs; the women with jewelry, rings, earrings, and gold necklaces (*manini*).[1] The children of the neighbourhood would soon come to make friends over their games, and the friendship would end sometimes in church. The dialect, with its soft, flowing, and caressing accents, gives us glimpses of the fund of maternal affection which filled the hearts of the women of the people. The mother, bending over the blond head and rosy cheeks of her little one, addresses it as *el mio leon de San Marco, el mio bombon, la mia alegrezza, el mio fior de primavera, viseto da Sant' Isèpo, el mio pometo, la mia grazieta, el mio ninin, la mia galinèla, el mio Agnus Dei,* etc.[2]

Among this lively, curious, and talkative population one characteristic type stands out in purely Venetian characteristics, — the gondolier. Some have judged him too severely, painting him as disposed to trickery and cheating.[3] Others, like Goldoni, are too indulgent; they represent the private gondolier (*de casada*), or the public gondolier of the traghetto, as always happy,

Ne casca 'na giozza
Su quela piera rossa;
Piera rossa s' ciopetava,
Tuto 'l mondo iluminava;
Iluminava Santa Maria
Co tre Anzoli in compagnia:
Un Batista e un Lorenzo,
Ch'el portava bon incenso.
Acqua de mar, pomolo de l'altar:
Beata quell'amena che la pol imparar.

[1] Lamberti, loc. cit.

[2] Musatti, C., *Amor materno nel dialetto Veneziano.* Venezia, 1887.

[3] Freschot (*Rel.*, cit., p. 370) judges patricians and people with the same severity, and especially the gondoliers, who learn trickery and chicane from their betters. D'Argens, too, in his *Lettres Juiv.* (cit., II, 183), says: "Le gondolier est aussi furbe qu'un Janséniste convulsionaire, aussi artificieux qu'un jésuite, aussi peu scrupuleux qu'un cordelier, aussi debauché qu'un carme, et aussi hipocrite qu'un jeune abbé qui cherche à attraper un bénéfice." De La Lande (*Voy.*, cit., VII, 36), on the other hand, draws a pleasing picture of the gondolier. Moore (*Lettres*, cit., p. 179) says: "Les gondoliers, les êtres les plus robustes et les plus intrépides de la populace." At the close of the Republic there were about three thousand gondoliers in the service of patrician families. Fulin, *Disc. sopra Em. Cicogna* (*Arch. Ven.*, III, 221).

always content, not knowing what wickedness or sorrow is, sincere, honest, famous for pluck and courtesy alike, ever ready for a joke, even with their Excellencies. On the day of a regatta the victorious champion's house was decked for the festival and echoed to the laughter and the noisy chatter of the assembled friends, who quaffed the wine and devoured the fish, and hugged and kissed each other, and praised the victor to the skies, when by the side of his father's portrait he hung his newly won flag; for piety and family reverence were not yet things of the past. With all his defects, neither few nor small, the gondolier was always the most characteristic example of that populace which alone, throughout the whole peninsula, preserved the type of genuine Italian life.

CHAPTER XI

CRIMES AND INSOLENCE OF THE NOBLES — LIFE IN THE MONASTERIES — ACTORS, COURTESANS, ADVENTURERS

THE boldness and courage which had become accentuated as characteristics of the late Cinquecento, in the following century were transformed into a braggart violence which endeavoured to cloak essential weakness. Certain aspects of life and certain forms of art seem grander, but it is a grandeur flaccid, inflated, and unhealthy. Thought and feeling perpetually present a violent antithesis of good and evil; and in Venice we find a hero like Lazzaro Mocenigo side by side with villains ready for any iniquity. Some of the young spirits, suppressed by the mistaken rigour of their home upbringing, were no sooner free of the paternal subjection than they plunged into a life of disorder,[1] and certain writers affirm that in no city in the world were the young men so violent, so vicious, and so brutal as in Venice.[2] If we look at one side of life, this judgment may seem true. Brusoni, in his romances, sketches for us a great nobleman, Glisomiro, who in the fantastic and corrupt mind of the author appears as the ideal gentleman. Glisomiro makes his *bravi* thrash the paramours of his mistress, carries off wives from their jealous husbands, and skips lightly from love-making with maidens to affairs with married women. All the same, when he pleases, he can prove

[1] Saint-Didier, *La Ville et la Rép.*, cit., p. 282. Costantini, *Lett.*, cit., VII, 105 et seq.

[2] Amelot de La Houssaye, *Hist. du Gouv. de Venise*, Part III., cit.

both his worth and his learning, and mask under a veil of feigned gentleness whatever remains in him of a guilty conscience.[1]

This type of an insolent lordling, drawn for us also by Manzoni with far greater skill, was to be found not only among the feudal barons of the mainland, but also among the nobles of Venice herself. Many of them, though intrusted with high and delicate offices, offered a sad example of dissolute and riotous living, giving themselves up to sordid loves, selling their protection for gold, leaving their debts unpaid[2]; while

[1] Albertazzi, *Romanzieri e romanzi del Cinquecento e del Seicento*, pp. 304, 305. Bologna, 1891.

[2] Costantini (*Lett.*, cit., III, 154) says that many nobles were backward in paying their debts. The following petition to the Doge, presented by a creditor of a patrician, was discovered in the archives of the Comune di Salò; it is undated, but certainly belongs to the seventeenth century. We give it in full:

"Serenis.mo Principe, Ecc.mi Sig.ri. "Io Agustin Cirabello, suditto et servitore della Ser.tà Vostra, esendo a la custodia di questo castello di Bresia già quatro ani pasati, et ritrovandomi ultimamente infermo, disposto malamente già alchuni mesi, il S.r Alvise Zane, che era qui castellano, volendosi partire da questo Castello esendo venuto il suo cambio, mi vene a ritrovare al leto, pregandomi et suplichandomi con parolle et sospiri che li dovese far avere quatrocento duchati a canbio, altrimenti non poteva partire senza sua gran vergognia, et altri debiti come lui mi diceva, et che non poteva nancho metersi in viagio per venir a Venetia, per manchamento di danari, con altre parole piene di gran conpasione, che per riverentia ch'io porto a la nobeltà venetiana le volio tacere. Moso io a compasione vedendo questo gientilomo pieno di miseria come lui mi diceva, mi risolsi di farli sichurtà a un merchante qui di Bresa per li quatrocento duchati che ge li diede. Lui promise la sua parola da gientilomo di pagarli per litere di cambio la mità per tuto zugno, l'altra mità per tuto setenbre; dil che non ha mai pagato niuna cosa a queli merchanti di Venetia dove si era obligato a pagare. Ha poi causato che questo merchante qui di Bresa mi à mandato qui in Castello, per sbiri, citacione et protesti con il convenirmi per giustitia. A tal che mi à fato eser favola di questa cità et manchator di parolla, che mai più da poi ch'io son al mondo mi è intravenuto tal cosa, pesandomi sino ne le visere per interese d'onore, il quale stimo più che non fo la propria vita, ma andando burlando con sue litere di pagare dimane l'altro, et ultimamente mi schrise per due man di sue litere che, subito che fuse stato aperto il bando, averia satisfato a quanto doveva, ma li dinari non sono stati pagati, dove che sforziatamente richoro ai piedi della Ser.tà Vostra suplichandola per le visere di Jesù Cristo che volia dar ordine ad eso S.r Alvise che pagi subito a questi merchanti questi quatrocento duchati in mediate, senza più burlarmi."

others, more vicious still, kept a number of *bravi*[1] in their service and did not hesitate, even under the very eyes of the dreaded Council of Ten, to commit the most abominable outrages, desecrating churches,[2] indulging in aggressions and homicides, extorting

[1] Saint-Didier (op. cit., pp. 284, 285) thus describes the Venetian *bravi:* "Ils s'équipent d'une jacque de maille sous un grand buste, d'une rondache de fer penduë derrière l'épaule, d'une espèce de salade brisée, qu'ils attachent à la ceinture, et portent une espée qui n'a que deux pieds de lame, mais qui est large de trois doits, et qui coupe des deux costez; ils mettent par dessus un manteau de campagne, qui couvre tout cet équipage . . . Je rencontrai un jour un (Brave) . . . qui avoit voulu attaquer un étranger, lequel se sauva chez une courtisane, et parut à la fenestre, le Brave l'appelloit de la voix et de la main, *Messer foresto vegnì abasso, vegnì abasso.* Mais l'étranger trouvoit cet ennemy armé trop à l'avantage, pour s'exposer à un combat si inégal." Matteo del Teglia, the Tuscan Resident, on March 1, 1681, reports thus on the steps taken by the government against the *bravi:* "Si comanda che debbiano partire nel termine di 24 ore da questa città e di 3 giorni da tutto lo Stato Veneto tutti i forastieri e sudditi ancora della Repubblica che servono per bravi, e quelli pure che vivono senza esercizio, arte o professione." (Arch. di Stato, Firenze, *Lett. dei Residenti,* file 3041, fol. 388). The decree referred to repeated the deliberations of the Ten on April 15, 1574; July 24, 1578; March 5, 1593; July 27, 1597; December 9, 1604; which expelled from the dominions of Venice "tutti li forestieri di aliena giuridittione, che seruono a particolari persone per braui et quelli che viuono senza essercitio, arte, o professione alcuna fuori che di braui . . . sotto pena . . . di essere immediate e senza remissione o scusa mandati a seruir sopra le galee dell' armata per anni cinque con ferri a i piedi per huomini da remo; et non essendo buoni da galea, le sia tagliata la mano più valida, et restino poi banditi in perpetuo di tutto il Stato nostro, nel qual ritornando ed essendo presi siano condotti fra le doi colonne di San Marco, doue sopra un paro di eminenti forche siano per il Ministro di Giustizia impicati per la gola sì che muorino." Twenty years' banishment was pronounced against "quelli che si servivano di tal sorte de huomini, così forastieri, come sudditi, tanto con salario quanto senza, tanto tehendoli in casa sua, quanto fuori di casa." Those who denounced, or consigned, or slew a bandit with a price on his head, received money and other recompenses. *Parti prese nell' Eccelso Consiglio di X in materia di banditi* (Stamp. per Franc. Rampazzetto e per Ant. Pinelli): May 12 and July 16, 1603; December 9, 1604; August 31 and September 18, 1609; July 16, 1613; October 17, 1619; April 22, 1620; etc.

[2] "1678, 18 sett. e 14 ott. Un caso esecrando seguì giovedì della passata settimana nella Ducale di S. Marco [essendo] stato in un angolo della chiesa ritrovato in atti venerei con una donna, Niccolò Balbi gentilhomo, detto per sopranome *La Novizza del Broglio.*" He was banished under pain of death, and a price placed on his head; the woman was sent to close prison for life. Arch. di Stato, Firenze, *Lett. del Resid. del Teglia,* file 3040, ff. 302, 351.

money[1] and, as a matter of precaution, if need be, doing away with the instruments of their misdeeds.[2] The Abbé Cornaro carried off a woman out of a gondola and threw her husband into the water, where he was drowned; Mario Malipiero killed a patrician named Rimondo; Alvise Morosini fired several times at the gondola of Antonio Nani, missing him but killing two of his friends; Giorgio Cornaro, son of the reigning Doge, hid himself and some *bravi* in the courtyard of the Ducal Palace and assaulted and wounded Rinieri Zeno; Alvise Paruta abducted the daughter of an honest merchant as she was leaving church; Domenico Mocenigo stabbed in the back and killed Donato Labia in the Ducal Palace; another Mocenigo, in the theatre of S. Salvadore, seriously wounded Niccolò and Sebastiano Foscarini; the Abbé Vittore Grimani and his two brothers, Giovanni and Pietro, carried off by force, to the palace of their mother Calergi, Francesco Quirini Stampalia and there slew him; Giuseppe Crotta, soon after his admission to the patriciate in 1649, slew his brother Giammartino, and, on being banished, fled with his *bravi* to Agordo.[3] As a rule the assassins escaped justice by flight, and the law had to content itself by condemning them to banishment under pain of death, depriving them of their nobility, confiscating their goods, and hanging their accomplices among the poorer classes; sometimes a tablet, commemorating their infamy, would be affixed to a wall.[4]

[1] "1677, 12 genn.: Un nobile Contarini in Verona, fornito il denaro, violentò due Ebrei di quella città, chiudendoli in una stanza, a farsi dar prontamente mille ducati." Arch. di Stato, Firenze, *Lett. del Resid. del Teglia*, file 3040, fol. 16.

[2] "1619, 9 nov.: Un nobile di casa Gritti, dubitando che per molti brutti misfatti fosse carcerato un tale, in compagnia del quale si presume che habbia fatto delle indignità, per non essere da esso scoperto, havendolo fatto chiamare, l'ucisse di molte pugnalate." Ibid., *Lettere del Resid. Niccolò Sacchetti*, file 3006, fol. 498.

[3] Molmenti, *I Banditi della Rep.*, Chap. V. Firenze, 1898.

[4] The Resident del Teglia, who is maliciously acute, writing on April 24, 1686, about the murder committed by Mocenigo in the theatre of

Leonardo Pesaro, who seems to have summed up in himself all the vices and crimes of his age, was banished with a price of three hundred ducats on his head. Though condemned more than once, he did not cease to defy the law; he escaped the hands of the police and followed his career of insolence, violence, and cruelty. With the help of his *bravi* and men of the sword, whom he kept not only in Venice but at Noale, Mirano, and Mestre, he murdered and extorted; he thrashed women and priests and paid his debts with musket-shots. One day his fancy was taken by a girl whom he saw dancing at a country fair. He had her carried off and kept her for two months in Venice as his mistress before he abandoned her; the compassion of others found her a refuge at the Socorso. On another occasion he forced the house of a Jew, named Caliman, and tried to break open his cupboards and boxes. The poor wretch strove to defend himself, but when his wife saw that Pesaro was going to set a huge mastiff at her husband, she hastily handed the keys to the ruffianly patrician, who helped himself to everything, and before leaving spat in the woman's face. His insolence reached such a pitch that he would thrash any one who dared so much as to look at him. His most outrageous and notorious enterprise was that which brought sorrow on the home of the patrician Minotto. On February 28, 1601, Pesaro and a party of his young companions, passing under the windows of Lucrezia Baglioni, mistress of the noble Paolo Lion, chaffed her, and left an impertinent message for her protector. The same evening, at a wedding-party in Ca' Minotto, Pesaro recognised Lucrezia, masked, along with Lion; he went up to them and blurted out

S. Salvadore, says: "Seguirà bando rigoroso, ma già non apprendono il gastigo i Nobili, sapendo che la Giustizia è per loro apparentemente distributiva, poichè infatti si salvano sempre al rumore." *Lett. dei Resid.*, cit., file 3043, fol. 695.

beneath his breath a deluge of insults. Lion, restraining his anger, moved away, declaring that this was neither the time nor the place to make a scene; but Pesaro, leaving the Minotto palace, went in search of his colleagues in riot and ribaldry, among them the patrician Camillo Trevisan, who was lying at the Ognissanti in the house of his mistress Camilla Cocchia. Pesaro made Trevisan rise and dress, calling out to him, "Come on; I mean to have a spree." The whole band assembled, and donning masks, swords, bucklers, and morions, set out for the Minotto house. They mounted the stairs and went for Lucrezia, whom they handled roughly, while they killed Lion. Then Pesaro and his gang, with the blood-madness upon them, tore through the apartments, their drawn swords in their hands, "and many of the wedding-guests, men as well as women, masked or unmasked, were wounded or injured; some defended their wives, and some were lucky in wearing shirts of mail beneath their clothes, and so escaped. Pesaro and his crew had put out the lights, — all but a single torch, which the bridegroom held in one hand, while with the other he grasped a chair to protect the bride, who was wearing pearls and jewels of great value. . . . All who could, escaped pell-mell down the staircase. There remained only one foreigner, a soldier, who, after parrying many a lunge at himself and the bridegroom, was wounded at last, having three fingers cut off. The ruffians kept crying, 'Well, now that we 've begun, let 's go through with it thoroughly; let 's have the bride's pearls'"; — so runs the wording of the sentence against them, published on April 3, 1601.[1]

The preceding centuries had not been free of such crimes, but now they became more frequent. The

[1] We have the sentence against Pesaro's companions, among them a Gabriele Morosini.

writer Apostolo Zeno, about the year 1698,[1] was present at another episode, equally scandalous but not so bloody. In the magnificent home of the Grimani at Santa Maria Formosa the Academy of the Animosi were wont to hold a meeting three or four times a year. At these meetings there was a concert, and as many as four hundred guests would assemble. On one occasion, when the Duke of Mirandola and other foreign princes were present, the ladies took their places in high-backed arm-chairs, and the men, so as not to interrupt the view, sat on low stools, or on the carpet at their feet. But one of the masked gentlemen chose to seat himself on the arm of the chair occupied by a very beautiful lady from Turin, who resented the liberty and began to complain, whereupon the masque impertinently bent down and stared at her breast. The lady of the house, who was hard by, rose and said, "Masque, behave yourself!" The insolent fellow replied, "What I do I 've a right to do." Raising her voice still higher, she exclaimed, "But this is an insult." On hearing these words Lazzaro Foscarini, her brother, sprang up and approached the masque with a threatening air. The latter drew a pistol and snapped the lock, but luckily it missed fire. In an instant swords and daggers were flashing, and Foscarini with one hand tore the mask from the offender's face, while with the other he aimed a blow with his stiletto; but in that second he recognised young Vincenzo Michiel, nephew of his sister, and his arm fell. Michiel was dragged out of the hall and subsequently banished, though later on he obtained pardon.[2]

[1] *Notizie circa il sig. Apostolo Zeno tratte dalla viva voce di lui* by Marco Forcellini, p. 9. MS. Bib. Laurenziana, Cod. Ashburnhamiani, No. 1502. Seetoo Battagia, *Delle Accademie Venez.*, p. 70. Venezia, 1826.

[2] The reports of the Tuscan Residents in Venice give us other examples of such quarrels. Niccolò Sacchetti writes, June 26, 1627: "Essendo l'altro ieri in un festino andati mascherati li Ambasciatori di Francia e di Savoia, e poco dopo seguitatili nel medº modo un fratello del dº di Savoia, questo messosi sopra una sedia, e sopravenendo Angelo figlio del Senator Correro pur mascherato, venuti fra loro a parole, il Correro diede al fratel

The fierceness and extravagance of the passions which characterise the seventeenth century gradually died away in the torpor of a society approaching its end. Manners were not precisely improved, but the passions were less tempestuous. With the exception of such crimes as disgrace even the most civilised populations at all times and in all places, the violence and insolence of the young men were now reduced to the simple swagger and banter which have always been the delight of irresponsible youth.[1] The rumour of the violence and cruelty which still reigned among the feudal lords of the mainland came to Venice like some tale of horror not to be believed. A foreigner writing in the middle of the eighteenth century says: "The race of *bravi* and assassins has long since disappeared from Venice"[2]; and one of Goldoni's characters says: "Venice is not a place where you can live by insolence; under this blessed sky neither bullies nor blackguards

dell' amb.re un pugno sul volto; onde sfodratasi subito una gran quantità d'arme e di pistole, furono per nascere molti e gravi inconvenienti. Finalmente, fattisi cogniti i mascherati per saper l'uno e l'altro di chi doversi guardare, il Collegio la mattina seguente messe la mano nell' accomodamento, il qual seguì il giorno appresso." (*Lett. dei Resid.*, cit., file 3012, fol. 278.) On February 26, 1678, del Teglia writes: "Una picciola rissa di reciprochi urtoni avvenne nel teatro S. Giov. Chrisostomo tra un gentiluomo della Patria ed un cavaliere mantovano del seguito dell' Altezza di Mantova; ma tutto restò incontanente sedato colla scambievole dichiarazione di non haver l'uno conosciuto l'altro, ambedue mascherati." (Ibid., file 3040, fol. 69.) Again del Teglia writes, on June 6, 1678: "Insorto qualche disgusto a causa d'un cane fra un giovinetto gentilhomo di casa Barbaro ed un altro Moro, benchè questi ne offerisse al primo le convenevoli sodisfazioni, si portò hiermattina il Barbaro ad hora di Broglio con cinque suoi tra parenti ed amici ad investire nel Broglio stesso il Moro, che solo col solo stiletto si difese da tutti sei, che l'infestavano con gli stocchi, mettendo a terra morto il suddetto Barbaro principale; ritiratosi poi egli ferito in testa e nel fianco." (Ibid., file 3040, fol. 203.) On February 3, 1680, del Teglia writes: "Due senatori di queste primarie famiglie Grimani e Contarini, venuti a picciola contesa nel teatro per un luogo di palchetto, restò il Grimani ferito di stile in una spalla." (Ibid., file 3041, fol. 49.)

[1] Casanova, in his *Mémoires*, recounts some of these youthful escapades, common enough in all times, such as cutting the moorings of gondolas, sending the midwife to some one not even enceinte or the priest to a hale man, cutting the bell ropes of houses, and so on.

[2] [Malhows], *Voy.*, cit., II, 244.

find any protection; and certain tricks that are in use elsewhere are not, and cannot be, played in Venice."[1] There is a steady decrease in the number of decrees against *bravi*, banditi, and those who carry "harquebuses, horse pistols, and pocket pistols, without any regard for this city, wherein are committed grave crimes and excesses, to the contempt of our laws, disturbance of the public peace, and injury to our good subjects, who are frequently slain by these detestable weapons."[2]

Duels, already forbidden under severe penalties in 1535 and 1541, and in 1631 described as "execrable crimes" by the Senate and the Ten,[3] were common enough during the Seicento, in spite of the law. Sometimes, and more especially on the mainland, they would degenerate into actual brawls with the sword; they usually arose over some question of precedence, of rank, of etiquette, of left or right hand, of free passage or obstruction, and such like inanities, which seemed serious enough to call for government interference.[4] The duel was surrounded with ceremonies and etiquette, based on the celebrated volumes of Girolamo Muzio Giustinopolitano, Fausto da Longiano, Attendolo, Possevino, Pigna, Birago, and others, which gave rise to many cavilling disputes over the insult, the lie, the cartel, the field, the arms, the persons with whom a gentleman

[1] Goldoni, *La Buona moglie*, Act I, sc. viii.

[2] During the seventeenth century the chief decrees *in materia di arcobusi et arme prohibite* are dated March 10, 1600; December 9, 1604; November 14, 1605; May 12, 1608; August 8, 1608; December 11, 1612; January 16, 1616; March 29, 1618; October 24, 1619; March 28, 1624; April 10, 1624; June 18, 1625; August 19, 1625; September 7, 1626; July 28, 1633. All printed by Antonio Pinelli, *stampator ducale*.

[3] Russo-Ajello, *Il Duello*, pp. 167 et seq. Città di Castello, 1906.

[4] For example, in the sixteenth century a professor of Padua, Angiolo Mattiazzo, complains to the Doge because another professor, his inferior in rank, named Ruggieri, *intende precedere a lui nella strada pubblica*. The Doge wrote to the Podestà Soranzo and to Captain Sanudo to put a stop to such a scandal, "which might bring a diminution of that rank and dignity which it has seemed good to the Senate to bestow on one rather than on another of its subjects." Arch. di Stato, Quarantia Criminale, *Processi*, F. 27, Proc. 102. 1590.

might or might not cross swords, and the choice of weapons.[1] Similar subtleties accompanied pacification or retraction, and we find dissertations on "the way to make peace chivalrously and Christianly,"[2] so that the acknowledgment of the wrong may not be a diminution of dignity. But on this point of honour there was a double feeling,— swagger on the one hand and servility on the other,—and the science of chivalry had degenerated into the merest casuistry. On April 29, 1739, the Ten renewed their threats against those who sent, carried, or accepted challenges.[3]

[1] It does not seem that difference in social or military rank was always a bar to a duel. In the Venetian army the rule laid down by Gian Giacomo Trivulzio, that an officer could not refuse to cross swords with a simple soldier, because the fact of being a soldier conferred nobility, generally prevailed. Attendolo held that the second quality which conferred nobility was learning, especially in the law, owing to its affinity with arms. Wealth too was recognised as giving the right to take the field. An insult was efficacious during a year. The insulted was styled the *attore;* the insulter, *reo;* the insulted was expected to follow *il foro del reo.* The injured was admitted to the honours of a duel, even if inferior in rank ; the insulter must always be equal or superior. The insulter having *contestata la querela* was *obbligato di fatto* and could not refuse satisfaction. Alciato, however, reserved freedom of action, and his opinion at that time prevailed. The challenge was sent in writing, by messenger; it usually named a term within which it must be accepted, — usually forty days, — and appointed a second to receive the reply. If the challenged party could not be found, the challenge was fastened to his door, and this was held equivalent to citation. The citation must contain the evidence of those who were witnesses of the insult.

[2] *Modo di far pace,* etc., by Giulio Cesare Valmarana, p. 87. Milano, Ghisolfi, 1649. As an example of the formulas in use in the case of retraction we will quote the satisfaction in words given by an ecclesiastical dignitary to a Venetian patrician : "Quando accompagnato da due servitori, incontrai V. S. clarissima con un suo servitore, perchè non la conobbi, gli dissi V. S. vada per la sua strada, e in medesimo tempo gli la levai, se ben era sua, essendo che è solito, per l'abito ch'io porto, che mi sia concessa dagli altri; e me ne entrai così subito in casa del dottor Livello dove andava, che non restò a lei tempo di rispondermi; ma non così tosto ho saputo chi ella è, che mi son ravveduto dell' error mio, et la ho fatta supplicar di perdono; et così al presente confesso d'haver nell 'attion sopradetta errato, et di conoscerla per signor degno d'essere rispettato, et honorato da qualunque persona, et atto a risentirsi di qualunque offesa et per superior mio : al quale parmi in ogni luoco è mio debito di cedere la strada. Pentito e dolente, adunque la supplico a perdonarmi e ricevermi nella sua bona gratia."

[3] Arch. di Stato, Cons. X, *Comuni,* Reg. 189, fol. 38.

But already in Venice the sword was less prompt in quarrels, and although the *Leli* and *Ottavi*, the Neapolitan and Roman counts, under cloak of whom Goldoni represented the Venetian patriciate, frequently appeal to arms, still the voice of sound common sense makes itself heard in the mouth of Pantaloon: "What is the sword, now, what is the sword, after all? Can a duel heal an affront? Can a challenge restore a damaged character? All prejudice, error, folly."[1] Don Rodrigo goes further and has the courage to decline a duel in these words: "I reply to your challenge that I neither can nor ought to accept it, as all law forbids me."[2] Goldoni himself, however, confesses that this episode was severely criticised, and it was held that Don Rodrigo had fallen short on the point of honour.[3]

A fatal duel, which greatly impressed the city, took place in 1716, near the hostelry of the *Leon bianco* at SS. Apostoli, between two German officers of Marshal Schulemberg's army. Each ran the other through, and both died on their way to the hospital. Town talk was also set agoing by the quarrel between the young noblemen Emilio Arnaldi and Alvise Barzizza, who, on January 22, 1738, fought a duel on the Giudecca in which Arnaldi was slightly wounded. But on the whole the Venetians preferred to arrange their disputes rather than to fight, even if the arrangement were not always to their credit. Angelo Emo, who later in life revived the fortunes of Venice on the sea, was serving on board ship at Corfù in 1753; in a coffee house high words passed between him and another naval officer, and in the heat of his twenty-two years Emo dashed his bonnet in the other's face; without retorting the other rose and left the place, whereupon Emo followed him and offered satisfaction, but found his adversary little disposed that

[1] Goldoni, *Le femmine puntigliose*, Act III, sc. v.
[2] Id., *Il Cavaliere e la Dama*, Act III, sc. iii.
[3] Id., *Mém.*, cit., I, 319.

way, and in a moment of noble anger he renewed the insult. There was talk of a challenge, but the affair was arranged by the reconciliation of the parties.[1]

Although the duel went gradually out of fashion, the young patricians cultivated the art of fencing, which could boast renowned masters among the Venetians from the sixteenth century onward; for example, Salvatore Fabris, who lived at the Court of Denmark.[2] In the Seicento Bologna alone could challenge the supremacy of Venice in fencing. The Venetians were masters of the art, and shared with their colleagues of Bologna the sound principles of fencing known as Bolognese or Venetian. After Fabris, the Venetian school can boast a Nicoletto Giganti, a fruitful innovator in the art of arms,[3] Francesco Alfieri,[4] of the Delia Academy in Padua,[5] and Bondì di Mazo,[6] who published in 1694 a treatise which contains plates admirably representing the movements and the thrusts at that time in vogue in Venice.[7] In the eighteenth century

[1] Nani-Mocenigo, F., *Giacomo Nani*, pp. 14, 15. Venezia, 1893.

[2] Salvatore Fabris, of Padua, printed at Copenhagen, in 1606, a treatise *De lo schermo*, etc., frequently reprinted in Italy and Germany. Gelli, in his *Bibliografia universale della scherma* (Firenze, Nicolai, 1890), dedicates some pages to the praise of Fabris and his work. Fabris died in 1617, and in 1676 Padua raised a monument to his honour in the Santo.

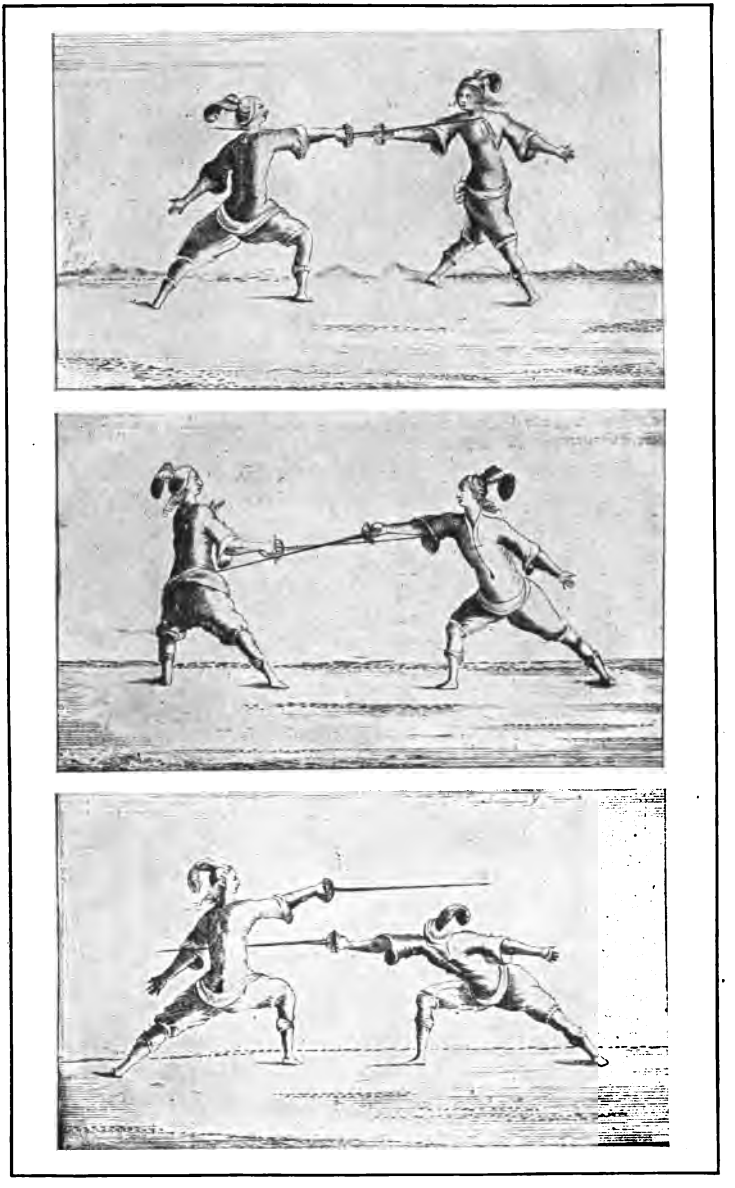
[3] Giganti, *Scola overo teatro nel quale sono rappresentate diverse maniere o modi di parare et di ferire di spada sola*, etc. Venezia, 1616. Giganti was the first to teach the advance with the right foot in the attack; he also invented the lunge, the counter parry, the *cavazione*, the *controcavazione*, and the cut.

[4] Alfieri, *La scherma*. Padova, 1640.

[5] See p. 15 of Gelli's *Bibliografia della scherma* for a curious account of this ancient fencing-club, arranged on the same lines as modern clubs. We must also record the Filotima Club at Verona, founded in 1565 by General Astorre Baglioni, but remodelled in 1610 by Giovanni Mocenigo. It was called Filotima because the members were expected to be inspired by a love of glory and of honour. Its chief object was practice in the use of arms. Its members were required to prove not only nobility of blood but purity of manners. (*Una Accademia cavalleresca di Verona*. Per nozze Pellegrini-De Roner. Venezia, 1901.)

[6] Bondì di Mazo, *La spada maestra*. Venezia, 1694.

[7] Gelli, *Bibliografia*, cit., p. 37, and *L'arte dell' armi in Italia*, p. 145. Bergamo, 1906.



THE Art of Fencing — from "La Spada Maestra," by Bondì di Mazo

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Giacomo Borgoloco enjoyed a high repute. His school in the Calle dei Botteri at San Cassiano was frequented by young men of the noblest families, and also sent out such distinguished masters as Angelo Secchietti, Lorenzo Mottali, Vettor Dolioni, Pietro Busida, Alberto Bruni, and Paolo de Grandis.[1]

In a race which had already given up swimming, rowing, and almost walking, thanks to the continuous use of the gondola,[2] it is not a little surprising to find this love of fencing continuing down to the end. Nor must we forget that in the midst of this general effeminacy there were to be found young nobles of character and energy who did not shrink from the exercise of their muscles. The instances are rare, but we hear of a young gentleman, Ferigo Calbo, who put on a mask and took part in bull-baiting; or, again, of Michelangiolo Lin, a powerful oarsman and a clever player at ball.[3] And instances of the moral virtues can be cited to take their place beside the physical. For example, the Senator Almorò Tiepolo one evening, when leaving his gondola, tripped in his long robe and all but fell into the water. His gondolier, to save his master, dropped his oar, which fell on Tiepolo's arm and broke it. The gondolier was not aware of what had occurred, and Tiepolo never opened his lips, but passed upstairs to his room, and there he merely said to his valet, who came to undress

[1] The adventures of Giacomo Borgoloco are curious. Having killed in self-defence a baker in the Campo San Giacomo dall' Orio, he was banished and went to Vienna, where the Emperor Leopold made him *maître d'armes* to his two sons Joseph and Charles. In an assault at arms before the two young princes Borgoloco defeated his master, by name Giambattista, whose rage and disgust were so great that he challenged his late pupil to a duel. But Borgoloco had no wish to cross swords with his old master, and to escape from the difficulty he fled back to Venice, where the Foscari took him under their protection. He collected a sum of seven hundred ducats and raised troops for the service of the State, and thus, as was then the custom, secured the repeal of his sentence. Cicogna, *Iscr.*, VI, 798.

[2] Richard, *Descr.*, cit., II, 502.

[3] Cicogna, op. cit., III, 468.

him, "Be a little gentle, please; my right arm is broken in two."[1]

But these rare examples of spirit only serve to throw into higher relief the feebleness of the majority of these young men, effeminate in manners and in mind. Against the lurid background of the Seicento certain types, which still retain some tincture of the antique vigour common to the race, stand out in marked contours in spite of their brutality and swagger. The next century only gives us the profiles of fops, "with flaccid limbs and muscles of cotton wool," as Gaspare Gozzi says.[2] In these vicious youths the passion of gambling, which was universal, was carried to incredible excesses. In certain saloons you would find patrician men, and even women, mingling in a strange herd of the populace,—sharpers, cutpurses, priests, Jews, and harlots,[3]—who, after losing their last ducat, would stake their rings, watches, chatelaines, and even their clothes.[4] Some

[1] Gozzi, C., *Mem. inut.*, cit., Part I, Chap. XXVI.

[2] We have a lurid picture of a young patrician of the Settecento in Seriman's satirical romance, *Viaggi di Enr. Wanton al paese delle Scimie*, II, 130. Venezia, 1749.

[3] In the *Annotazioni* of the Inquisitori di Stato, under date March 16, 1747, we read: "Nel casino in Salizzada a San Moisè si tripudia di disordini, vi va di ogni sorta di condicion di persone huomini e donne, in fino sacerdoti come il curato dell' Angelo Raphael . . . si fa bottega da caffè e si gioca ad ogni sorta di carte, di notte vi va ogni sorta di vagabondi in fino meretrici delle case pubbliche e continuamente si offende Dio in ogni forma, e con bestemmie." The Casino at San Cassiano had become by 1781 "il ricapito di tutta la città patrizia con una mescolanza delle prime signore colle più infime miserabili, del signor procuratore Morosini e soggetti simili coi più miseri. Nessun voleva essere inferiore nell' abito e nel gioco. Il *Panfil* dominava in ogni angolo. Le povere signore, per pagar e continuar a divertirsi, erano ridotte a divertir gli altri quasi palesamente." Ballarini, *Lett.*, cit., May 19, 1781. Costantini (*Lett.*, cit., I, 172, 173) says: "A Bassetta ed a Faraone si arrischiano grosse somme se non altro su la parola. . . . Talora si perdono a decine di migliaia di scudi e due Dame in diverse congiunture hanno perduto più di ottanta mille scudi, onde i loro mariti per stimolo di onore, benchè non tenuti, soddisfecero al debito doloroso. . . . Una donna nobile ridotta agli estremi dal giuoco, ebbe una volta coraggio di levarsi la cuffia, dopo aver perduto il denaro, e perderla sopra un punto di Bassetta."

[4] Among many curious instances we may quote the case of thè Abbé Nicolò Grioni, who, having lost at play *fino i proprii habiti*, had to *star*

Early Morning Scene on the Erberia a Rialto — by Gabriele Bella. (Venice, Galleria Quirini-Stampalia)

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helped their luck by cheating, for the professional gambler ends by adopting the methods of the swindler; but the losers were in the vast majority, and after a night spent among the excitements of gaming and debauchery you might see them with pale cheeks and black lines under the eyes wandering about among the elegant crowd which on a fine spring or summer morning used to gather at the vegetable market at Rialto to watch the lively spectacle of the people busy at their work.[1]

The morning hours were given over to sleep; and after waking about midday, other frivolous cares occupied their attention. Decked out, powdered and perfumed, they would study every pose in the glass, — the way to sit down, the way to walk, the way to bow. They looked like the little porcelain figures with which their cabinets were crowded. The book-shelves held all that was suggestive in the world of letters, — love tales, stories of gallantry, lewd verses adorned with obscene woodcuts.[2] Loose divinities of antiquity also adorned their visiting-cards,[3] and still lewder scenes their jewelled

spoglio at home, and the case of a certain Antonio Cestari, who having gambled the clothes on his back and the last penny in his purse, had to stay naked all day in a garret of his house, and at night went out in his father's clothes. Dolcetti, *Le bische e il giuoco d'azzardo a Ven.*, cit., p. 104.

[1] "Les personnes de la bonne compagnie qui vont se promener à l'Erberia d'un peu bon matin sont convenues de dire que c'est pour jouir du plaisir de voir arriver des centaines de barques chargées de légumes, de fruits et de fleurs, qui viennent des nombreuses îles qui avoisinnent la ville; mais tout le monde sait qu'il n'y a que les jeunes gens et les jeunes femmes qui ont passé la nuit dans les plaisirs de Cythère, dans les excès de la table, ou qui désespérés par la fortune et victimes de l'imprudence, ont perdu leur dernier espoir au jeu, qui aillent dans cet endroit pour respirer un air plus libre et calmer leur agitation." Casanova, *Mém.*, cit., III, 184.

[2] Costantini, *Lett.*, cit., II, 153; III, 156.

[3] We find traces of visiting-cards in the sixteenth century. A Contarini in 1572 writes to his brother that a German student on leaving Padua had handed him a card with his name and arms on it. In the next century the use of visiting-cards became general. The earliest cards were illuminated; then came painting in sepia, and lastly engraving. The Museo

snuff-boxes.[1] The use of snuff, which was common even among ladies of fashion, introduced various rules of its own,—how to blow the nose, how to sneeze, how to beg from a lady "a pinch of her graces."[2]

The one desire of these dandies, these donors of flowers and bonbons, with their sunshades, their cloaks, their fans, whose every step was marked by the little tinkle of their eye-glasses and *breloques*, was to anticipate and satisfy the whims of their ladies. Spanish gallantry of the Seicento degenerated into Italian *serventismo*, and before the century was out the *cavaliere servente* was transformed into the *cicisbeo*,[3] whose presence was even recognised in marriage contracts, where a clause would state that the lady was "served by several admirers."[4] As to the position and rights of a *cicisbeo*, De La Lande is of opinion that he was not "un amant que la jeune mariée se soit destinée d'avance, mais très souvent un homme pour qui elle a peu de goût et qui l'accompagne par décence."[5] In truth it can have been no very passionate

Civico has a curious collection of cards, both painted and engraved. They usually have either some classical design, or a border of flowers, or some mythological subject. Among others is one belonging to the last Doge, Lodovico Manin; it has a naked, sleeping Adonis, with two doves billing on a rock near an oak tree. Ballarin, *Lett.*, cit., I, 42, records: "L'ecc.mo signor cav. Bastian Mocenigo, che girò per tutta la città visitando con biglietto tutte le famiglie parenti e di conoscenza."

[1] A note of August 22, 1696, in the papers of the Serenissimi Collegi of Genoa, denounces the sale of *oscenissime* snuff-boxes under the loggia dei Banchi, and urges their seizure *come pure era stato fatto nella città di Venezia* (Arch. di Stato di Genova, Fogliazzo, *Rer. publicarum*, 1695–1703). Francesco Mascarini, who ended on the gallows for having falsely denounced a priest, was famous as an obscene painter of snuff-boxes and fans. Tassini, *Curiosità*, p. 449.

[2] G. Gozzi, in the *Gazzetta Veneta* (op. cit., VIII, 11), describes the *esercizio militare della tabacchiera*. Goldoni, in his *Vedova scaltra* (Act II, sc. ii), makes Don Alvaro, when he declares his passion for the beautiful and elegant Rosaura, exclaim: "Eccovi una presa del mio tabacco."

[3] Ortolani, G., *Della vita e dell'arte di C. Goldoni*, p. 49. Venezia, 1907.

[4] Costantini (*Lettere*, cit., III, 88) mentions a contract with this clause: *quattro cicisbei che servano la signora*. See Moroni, *I Minuetti*, p. 86. Roma, 1880.

[5] De La Lande, *Voy.*, cit., VII, 31. One of Goldoni's characters says: "Anche una onesta moglie si può lasciare opportunamente servire, che

love which these effeminate, tight-laced dandies inspired in their mistresses, who granted them private interviews, caresses, and even kisses, but nothing more. When *cicisbeism* did not change into a guilty liaison, it remained a degenerate form of sentimentality, a hybrid and fictitious mixture of sensual pleasure and platonic affection, a sort of moralised depravity, more repugnant than bold and downright viciousness.

Side by side with the *cicisbeo* we find the worldly little Abbé, all made up, perfumed, and powdered. The corruption of the Venetian clergy is painted, as usual, in dark and exaggerated colours by hasty and malevolent foreigners, like D'Argens, who represents friars as singing on the public stage; and gives a *maîtresse de louäge* not merely to every priest and monk, but also to the Patriarch.[1] All that is false; but it is true that a pious priest of the eighteenth century, Giambattista Gallicciolli, laments the lack of zeal and the disappearance of the ancient fervour among the clergy, many of whom lived like laymen and were immersed in worldly cares.[2] The priest was not always treated with the respect due to his cloth. Many of them who lived in noblemen's houses, as chaplains or tutors, were employed as domestic servants; and Freschot tells us that one day, when visiting the patrician Girolamo Cornaro, he saw the chaplain serving refreshments with a napkin over his shoulder, opening the door and performing other menial services, "and pray God that they were not called on for duties other than those I saw."[3] Side by side with the private chaplains, who were considered as little better than domestic servants, we begin to find in the fashionable world those

servitù semplice non è riprensibile e che senza offendere l'onestà della dama, può anche soffrire qualche inclinazione per essa il cavaliere più saggio." Goldoni, *Il Cavaliere e la Dama*, Act II, sc. vii.

[1] D'Argens, *Lettres Juiv.*, cit., II, 186, 212, 213.

[2] Gallicciolli, II, 1669.

[3] Freschot, *Relat.*, cit., p. 315.

abatini, with their full and powdered locks, their coats of English cloth, their mantles of Lyons silk, their ruffles of Flemish lace, and polished shoes with gold or silver buckles and red heels.[1] A type of these tonsured dandies, dancers of the minuet, improvisers of toasts, unwearying diners-out, confirmed gamesters, is Alberto Fortis, who, after throwing off the monk's frock, dressed as a priest and spent his life making love and poems and songs to the beauties of his day. Some of the young patricians, in order to escape the boredom of their public duties, donned the clerical cloth, often without giving themselves the trouble of ever saying Mass.[2]

The patrician youth, avid for pleasure, did not content themselves with paying court to ladies of fashion and the harmless though insipid privileges of *cicisbeism*; they preferred other diversions. Nor were opportunities wanting. The convents were a field which offered them fruit all the more tempting because it was forbidden. An anonymous libel, published in Rome at the time of the Interdict by Paul V, declares that at Venice "some of the nuns have lovers who frequently visit and converse with them; that the lay sisters act as go-betweens; that during Carnival many nuns put

[1] Manzoni, a poet of the Settecento, in his *Le astuzie di Belzebù ovv. censure degli abusi del carnevale e della quaresima*, p. 27. Venezia, 1763, thus describes the *Abatino*:

Spirava dolce odore di manteca;
Aveva un zazzerino impolverato;
Nel visetto pareva Elena Greca.
Di nero il farsettino ricamato
E il giustacuore avea; nè era di bieca
Ma dolce guardatura e della razza
Di quei che spazïan la state in piazza.

[2] Costantini, *Lettere*, cit., III, 155. Del Teglia, the Tuscan Resident (*Lett. Res.*, cit., file 3048, fol, 322), writes on January 8, 1697: "Per esimersi dalla pena delle pubbliche leggi ai recusanti le dignità conferitele l'Ecc. sig. Gio. Francesco Barbarigo, eletto ambasciatore in Francia, vestì l'abito clericale."

on the mask, and their lovers come with their gondolas to take them out; or they go through the city on foot to entertainments, whence they return when they please."[1] Businello adds:

La monaca ch'a Dio xe consacrada
Xe ogni dì alla finestra co l'amante.

And in truth monastic life in Venice during the preceding centuries, defiled by infamous vices which our duty as an historian compelled us to recount, continued much the same during the Seicento,[2] though it became

[1] Roma, Bib. Corsiniana, *Relat. dello Stato, Cost. Disordini et Remediis de Venetia*, cit.

[2] We will cite only a few examples. On August 25, 1602, the Provveditori sopra Monasteri opened an inquiry on the dissolute conduct of the nuns in the convents of Santa Croce and Santa Caterina in Chioggia (Lorenzi, *Leggi venete sulla prostit.*, cit., p. 305). There is another inquiry in 1604, provoked by the scandalous relations between some nuns of San Daniele and the Papal Nuncio Offredo Offredi of Cremona, Bishop of Molfetta and with Domenico Bollani, Bishop of Canea. (Ibid., p. 307.) The Cronaca *Savina* (by Andrea de Conti), p. 376, says: "Furono banditi (November, 1608) disdoto nobili delli primarj della città per haver habbudo pratiche con doi monache." On March 14, 1611, an action was brought against the priest Giuseppe Tagliapietra, parish priest of San Martino at Burano, who had carried off from her convent of San Vito in Burano a certain Sister Diodata. (Lorenzi, op. cit., p. 339.) On August 13, 1614, Andrea Foscarini and Alvise Zorzi were accused of having entered the convent of San Zaccaria by breaking through the wall "dimorando anco uno di loro in esso diverse volte non pur le notti, ma li giorni intieri." (Ibid., p. 341.) In 1643 an English gentleman, with the help of a gondolier from the English Embassy, carried off a nun from the convent of the Convertite on the Giudecca. (Ibid., p. 344.) A still more scandalous affair is mentioned by Freschot (*Relat.*, cit., p. 315), and curious details are given in a document sent by Ferdinando Raggi, agent of the Genoese Republic at the Court of Rome, to his government. The report, which is to be found in the state archives at Genoa (*Carteggio dipl.*, Roma, Ba 32), relates that in 1645 a certain Cecilia Ferrari founded an asylum in Venice and gave shelter to three hundred poor girls. A noble of the Ruzzini family offered her a palace, and she opened a second asylum in Padua. She drew as much as four to five hundred ducats a week from the needlework of her girls, while the richest persons in Venice vied with each other in donations to the hospital. All of a sudden Cecilia was denounced to the Inquisition for infamous practices. The writer of the document draws the following picture: "Cecilia voleva mostrar sembiante di persona esemplare col portar di sopra un habito di lana fratesco alquanto ruvido, ma sotto teneva vesti di seta et oro, calzete

gradually less dissolute in the Settecento. The pride which led so many noble families to sacrifice the flower of their daughters' youth in order to preserve the family patrimony intact for their sons, insisted that even in the cloister their children should be surrounded by distinctions and privileges. The entry into a convent was celebrated by *fêtes* and banquets, music and verse; the novice received a trousseau like a bride, and large dowers were given to the convent, — so large, in fact, that during the seventeenth century we find a series

di seta ricamate e qualche gioia. Haveva diviso l'ospizio in due parti con ingiunzione di non poter visitare le figliole nemeno da' propri padri e madri." Some of the girls had leave to receive their lovers, disguised, at night. "Questa donna si era fatto lecito di fare le fonzioni di sacerdotessa col celebrar messa e poi far l'atto di comunicar le figliole, dalle quali si faceva venerare non altrimenti che fusse papessa, con farsi baciar il piede. . . . Dava ad intendere di havere spirito profetico, mediante le confessioni delle donzelle, da lei udite dietro un tavolato del confessionale. . . . Dava ad intender spesso le visite dei santi e dei beati, coi quali tenesse colloqui spirituali; ma alla fine si è scoperto esser state visite di amorosi umani . . . Insomma questa donna con le severe regole date in ospizio di non doversi palesare le azioni . . . che si teneva dentro, pretendeva di farsi stimare per una beata, e si persuadeva che non potessero scoprirsi le sue sporcherie. . . . Fu pubblicamente martedì mattina condotta al Tribunale della Santa Inquisizione, lesse ad alta voce le sue colpe, all' udita de' quali tutti gridavano: fuoco, fuoco." She was forced to abjure her crimes and was condemned to seven years' imprisonment. The Tuscan Resident, del Teglia, carries on the painful list of monastic iniquities. On September 10, 1678, "le moniche del Monastero di S. Girolamo delle principali famiglie venete, mal sodisfatte del governo dell' Abadessa, se le sollevarono contro a segno che andò a pericolo della vita." (*Lett. Res.*, cit., file 3040, fol. 291.) On February 17, 1680, del Teglia writes: "Una di queste sere, furono arrestati sette nobili trovati verso le tre di notte a spasso in un parlatorio di moniche." (Ibid., file 3041, fol. 59.) On April 12, 1681, "Domenica di Resurrezione S. Serenità . . . calò a prender l'indulgenza in S. Zaccheria. Altro che indulgenza vi presero Mercordì due signori che per gelosia e rivalità si diedero delle stilettate in quel sacro parlatorio." (Ibid., file 3041, fol. 422.) On August 1, 1682, "Si sono chiamati due nobili veneti per causa di monache, e questi sono li sig.ri Costantino Morosini e l'altro il nobile Valaresso, figlio del sig. Zaccheria di questo cognome, hora Podestà di Padova: il 1° per il monastero di San Lorenzo, e il 2° di S. Andrea. (Ibid., file 3041, fol. 950.) On April 2, 1689, "Nel monastero della Celestia si sono scoperti per causa di gelosa rivalità di due religiose sorelle, che si sono anche mortalmente ferite, diverse monache gravide. . . . Le delinquenti son tutte Dame dell' ordine Patrizio." (Ibid., file 3043, fol. 959.)

PARLOUR of a Nunnery — a painting by Francesco Guardi. (Museo Civico)

of laws passed to prohibit such dowers from surpassing one thousand ducats and to put an end to the *fêtes*, music, banquets, and presents on these occasions.[1] But these victims of paternal tyranny either rebelled in despair at the sacrifices imposed on them, like Arcangela Tarabotti,[2] or lived in their cloister not according to rule but according to their own pleasure. The convent parlours were transformed into drawing-rooms or ball-rooms,[3] and the sisters appeared dressed "more like nymphs than like nuns," to use the words of the Tuscan priest Pizzicchi, written in 1664.[4] Later on Poellnitz records that "L'habillement des Religieuses est plus galant que modeste; elles portent leurs cheveux tressés comme les filles de Strasbourg: leurs jupes sont assez courtes pour qu'on leur voye

[1] Gallicciolli, II, 512.

[2] She was born in Venice about 1605. Her family came from Bergamo. At eleven years of age she was forced to enter the cloister of Sant' Anna, though her thoughts were still directed towards the world and she still sighed for that share of happiness due to every woman and taken from her without any right. She lived like a nun in name only, not in garb or in habits. In the one case she was madly vain; in the other, vainly mad. Some of her writings, which are partly edited and partly not, express her indignation at the violence imposed on her; *La semplicità ingannata*, *La tirannia paterna*, *L'inferno monacale*, are examples. As she thinks of other girls, her contemporaries, happy in the caresses of the great world, she envies them, but without bitterness; nay, she excuses in women the love of pleasure and their passion for dress, and takes their part against too austere judges. When the flower of her youth was past, she listened to the counsels of the Patriarch, Federico Cornaro, and resigned herself to the claustral life; in reply to the titles of her earlier works, she now wrote *Il paradiso monacale*, *La luce monacale La via lastricata per andare al cielo*, *Le contemplazioni dell' anima amante*, *Il purgatorio delle mal maritate*. Tarabotti died in 1652. Cicogna, *Iscr.*, I, 135.

[3] A letter written in 1678 by the patrician Niccolò Contarini, under the name of the *Gobbo di Rialto*, to a Roman friend called *Marforio*, enumerates the diversions of the Carnival at Venice, and among others mentions the parlours of the convents: "Bella ricreazione è quella dei parlatorî, ne' quali concorre ogni ben allestita mascherata; tutte le dame ivi si veggono riunite, sì che si possono chiamar terrestri paradisi di celesti bellezze." Moschetti, *Il Gobbo di Rialto*, cit. (*Nuovo Arch. Ven.*, V, 39).

[4] Pizzicchi, *Viaggio per l'alta It. del Princ. di Toscana*, cit. Saint-Didier relates that during Carnival he had seen in the convent parlours nuns dressed like men, with plumes in their hats, making graceful bows.

la cheville du pied: pour corps de jupes elles portent des casaques à basque courtes qui sont très-avantageuses aux belles tailles: leur gorge est découverte."[1]

In the Settecento, too, in the parlours of some convents, we hear of assemblies, balls, theatricals, and puppet-shows. The severe provisions of both ecclesiastical and civil authorities, directed against the disorders of claustral life,[2] still continue, and President de Brosses tells us that in 1739 three convents disputed the honour of supplying a mistress to the Papal Nuncio who was about to arrive in Venice; but we leave all responsibility for this tale to the witty though rather frivolous Frenchman. The adventures of the French Ambassador Froullay with the patrician nun Maria da Riva, whose story resembles that of the unhappy creature rendered immortal by Manzoni, were indeed so notorious that they gave rise to diplomatic representations.[3]

[1] Poellnitz, *Nouveaux Mém.* Amsterdam, 1737.

[2] For instance, in 1758 Monsignor Giustinian, Bishop of Murano, informed the Inquisitori di Stato that the convent of Santa Chiara in Murano was in an uproar because of the father confessor, the Abbé Calogerà, who had declared that among the nuns were a witch and two possessed of the devil. The Inquisitors gave the Abbé to understand that he must sever all connection with the monastery, and they also exhorted the bishop to appoint a prudent confessor. All in vain, for on March 18, 1759, a further note of the Inquisitors informs us that false keys had been found on several of the nuns who were contemplating flight, and that the Abbé Calogerà was fully aware of all that was going on. The Tribunal told the Abbess to keep an eye on the sisters, and sent Calogerà, in confinement, to the abbey of Vagandizza.

[3] Maria da Riva, who had taken the vows in the convent of San Lorenzo, met one day in the parlour the French Ambassador Froullay. He fell in love with the fair nun, who returned his passion. Maria, in mask, used to follow Froullay to *fêtes* and casinos, and returned secretly to her convent only when day began to dawn. The affair came to the ears of the Inquisitors, who gave orders that Maria should no longer appear in the parlour to meet Froullay. The Ambassador took this as a personal affront and complained to Paris, where a series of lively interviews took place between the Venetian Ambassador, Zeno, and Chauvelin, the Keeper of the Seal. Froullay, spurred on by his pride and by these obstacles to his passion, refused to abandon his scandalous liaison, until Maria was transferred to a convent at Ferrara, where she fell in love with a Colonel

But in contrast with this claustral life of intrigue and sin we have the life in other convents illuminated by the rays of piety; and against the many criminal nuns we must set other gentle natures, wholly dedicated to the practice of their faith,[1] to good works, to modest occupations, such as the preparation of trousseaux for weddings and baptisms, the making of sweetmeats and confectionery, and the charming employment of embroidery and lace-making. In the convent of Sant' Anna, which witnessed the sufferings of Arcangela Tarabotti, the two daughters of Jacopo Tintoretto, Alturia and Perina Robusti, passed their lives in the odour of sanctity. The fame of their father reached them in the cell like a faint but not unpleasing echo from the outer world, and the two pious ladies embroidered their father's glorious "Crucifixion," in the Scuola di San Rocco, as an altar frontal, with such devoted labour that, as tradition runs, one of them lost her sight. Nor were the convents quite without some tincture of arts and letters. Some of the ascetic works of devotion, written by nuns, are the warm expression of souls sincerely devout; certain sacred subjects painted in nunneries, though rude in form, are full of intense feeling. The *Convertite* on the

Moroni, with whom she fled to Bologna, and was there married (Fulin, *St. nell' Arch. degli Inq.*, cit., pp. 431 et seq.). It is not difficult to imagine that Casanova, who must have known the story of Maria intimately, made use of this adventure when describing the intrigue of the French Ambassador de Bernis with the nun M. M., in which he assigns to himself so large a part.

[1] Tarabotti, in the *Paradiso monacale* (p. 44, Venezia, 1663), says: "Sì come le monache forzate provano in questa vita tutte le pene dell' inferno, così le volontarie sentono in sè tutta la dolcezza del paradiso." Saint-Didier (*La Ville et la Rép.*, cit., p. 317) says: "De trente-quatre où trente-cinq couvents de Religieuses, qu'on conte à Venise, il y en a plus de la moitié, où l'on vit aussi régulièrement qu'en nulle autre ville du monde." Burnet (*Voy. de Suisse, d'It.*, etc., p. 265. Rotterdam, 1688) adds: "Les Religieuses ont donné aussi pendant long-temps beaucoup de scandale, au moins quelques-unes; car il y a à Venise des monastères qui sont aussi renommez pour l'austerité de la vie qu'on y meine, que d'autres pour les libertés qu'on y prend."

Giudecca had a printing-press[1]; while in a Venetian convent we find a sister, Maria Isabella Piccini, who lived during the second half of the Seicento, using the burin with no small skill, — a case that we suppose can hardly be matched.

During the last years of the Republic dissoluteness almost entirely disappeared from Venetian convents. The claustral life was rarely disturbed by the restlessness of sin, the note of worldly gaiety was banished from the parlours, and the "silly little nuns" (*melense monachelle*), as Lamberti calls them, spent their time between sermons and Mass, cakes and chocolate. The nunneries no longer echoed to the sound of social revelries; their place was taken by harmless little entertainments and pious functions, as when Pope Clement XIII, a Venetian of the Rezzonico family, sent to his niece Maria Luigia, Abbess of the convent of Santa Chiara, her insignia of office, and Buranello's Mass was sung in the church; in the parlour, lighted by crystal chandeliers and richly hung, "copious refreshments, both hot and cold, with fine confectionery and biscuits," were served to the great ladies and patricians invited to the ceremony.[2]

License, however, continued to reign in places which should have been as spotless homes of virtue and innocence as the convents themselves. The Conservatories, where poor maidens were taught music and singing, became the haunt of certain nobles who lent their protection to the pupils and, under the cloak of charity, received them into their houses, taking the advantage of wealth to corrupt innocence.[3]

More facile, though more costly, amours were offered by the ladies of the stage. Ballarini, whom we have

[1] Rossi, Vitt., *Donne tipografe nel Cinquecento* (in *Il Libro e la Stampa*, fasc. 4–5. Milano, 1907).

[2] Dalla Santa, *Un monastero in Venezia* (in the *Strenna di benef. dei rachitici*, p. 153. Venezia, 1896).

[3] *Cenni stor. e leggi circa il libertinaggio di Ven.*, cit., p. 70.

often quoted, tells us that in the ballet of *Lauretta*, taken from Marmontel's novel, a young dancer called *La Pelosina* took the public fancy, and cynically adds: "Her mother was willing that she should quit the state of maidenhood, but the lowest price was three hundred sequins."[1] But as against such sickening and mercenary dealing we can cite a fact which proves that virtue was not entirely banished from the life of a dancer, though exposed to every kind of temptation, and that when honesty did flourish on that impure soil, it might look for the protection of the law against threats, dangers, or insults. The patrician Tomaso Sandi fell in love with a dancer at the theatre of San Cassiano, called Stella Cellini. He tried to win her to his purpose, but meeting with an indignant repulse, he meditated revenge. He accused Stella of openly living with a Turk, and she was condemned to banishment on January 26, 1780. But she claimed a medical examination, and the falsity of the accusation was proved, the sentence revoked, and the *vergine Cellini*, as popular sympathy at once entitled her, was allowed

[1] Ballarini, *Lett.*, cit., I, 205. To throw light on this subject of the intrigues and scandals which occurred between the nobles and the women of the theatre, we will quote some passages from a letter written by Caterina Dolfin Tron to the Duca Serbelloni. (Private Archives of the Sola-Busca-Serbelloni of Milan, *Lett.*, cit.) On August 17, 1787, Caterina wrote to her friend begging him to find a place for a *danseuse* on the stage of some theatre in Milan or Florence. The girl's name was Tonina Torri, and her piteous story is thus related: "La mia ballerina è perseguitata a Venezia, e sono 10 anni che la meschina cerca invano d'impegnarsi in modi onorevoli sopra ai Teatri del nostro Stato; ella fu prima ballerina mezzo carattere 10 anni sono a San Moisè, fu assai applaudita, ma ebbe la disavventura di piacere moltissimo a Gerolamo Giustinian, morto ultimamente, che fu figlio del Cavalier. Codesta donna gli fece un ragazzo che fece battezzare a suo nome; sino ad ora si sospettò l'esistenza di codesto fanciullo, ma ora si vede a chiedere quasi l'elemosina; esso è così assomigliante a suo padre che sembra uno scherzo di natura. Il cavalier Giustinian ricusa persino di fargli elemosina, dicendo che suo figliolo morì fallito; ed ora la madre ed il figlio sono bersagliati ed intimoriti. Io ero amica del povero Momolo, e mi fece mille volte la confidenza di questo fanciullo; vorrei almeno metterli per qualche anno al sicuro delle violenze, ed è perciò che mi affatico per trovargli un teatro fuori di Stato."

to return to her theatre and to her dances amid the enthusiastic applause of the public.[1]

The conduct of two celebrated singers, the Morichelli and the Banti, however, was far from edifying. Da Ponte has left us this account of them: "The Morichelli, who had great abilities and wide culture, was an old vixen. Though she was fond enough of pleasure, she managed to hide her appetites under the seeming modesty and reserve of a girl of fifteen. . . . The Banti, on the contrary, was a regular termagant, ignorant, stupid, and insolent. In her youth she had been accustomed to sing in the coffee-houses and on the streets, and she brought onto the stage all the manners of a shameless chorus girl; free in speech, still freer in action; given up to boozing, dissoluteness, and the bottle."[2] The singers were quite ready to yield to the seductions of their brother artists[3]; but to the loves that bloomed on the stage they preferred those which had "more roast and less smoke; and accustomed as they were to move about, they were ready to change their loves once a week."[4] Marcello has left us a spirited sketch of these feather-brained singing-girls, with their complacent mammas and their assiduous protectors.[5]

The *comédiennes*, too, often preferred a lucrative love affair to their business on the stage. It is true that the artists of the comic stage had greatly changed since the days when Garzoni described them in such scathing terms towards the close of the sixteenth century; but something of their old character must still have clung about them if, in 1778, the Inquisitor Niccolò Maria Tiepolo could thus apostrophise them: "Remember that you fellows are a race detested

[1] Ballarini, *Lett.*, cit., February 9 and 16, 1781.
[2] Da Ponte, *Mem.*, cit., Vol. II, Part I, pp. 30, 31.
[3] Goldoni, *L'Impresario delle Smirne*, Act II, sc. i.
[4] Ibid, Act I, sc. ii and viii.
[5] Marcello, *Il teatro alla moda*, cit. We also have a faithful picture of the women of the theatre in Chiari's *Ballerina onorata*.

by the blessed God, but tolerated by Princes for the feeding of their people, who take pleasure in your iniquities . . . try and be Christians though ye be comedians."[1] Pier Antonio Gratarol, when in exile, launched against his countrymen this, among other accusations, that they had stooped to admitting to their houses the comedian Antonio Sacchi: "Only in Venice, you rascal, could you have got all you got from every class of person."[2] Carlo Gozzi, however, affirms that the actors of the Sacchi company enjoyed universal respect as regards their morals, and that the actresses, after their daily prayers, divided their time between studying their parts and attending to their domestic cares, being forbidden to receive visits or to accept gifts.[3] But we must note that the conduct of the flighty Teodora Ricci and of the beautiful *Madame Auguste*, mistress of Dukes and Princes and wife of Michele dall' Agata, impresario of the theatre of San Benedetto,[4] did not conform to this high standard.

Under this modern veneer the comedians always retained some of the old traits of the stage-players and some flavour of gypsy life. Gaetano Casanova fled from his home in Parma to follow an actress called Fragoletta; he became a dancer and comedian, and after abandoning the faithless Fragoletta, he went to Venice with a troupe that acted in the theatre at San Samuele. Opposite the house where he lodged dwelt a beautiful girl, Zanetta Farusi, daughter of a shoemaker. The two fell in love, and Zanetta, in 1724, let herself be carried off by the comedian, leaving in despair her father, who died of a broken heart. Zanetta was the mother of the notorious adventurer Giacomo Casanova,[5]

[1] *I comici e gl' Inquisitori di Stato* (in the *Bollettino di Arti, Ind. e Curiosità*, anno I, p. 67. Venezia, 1877–1878).

[2] Gratarol, *Narraz. Apologetica*, I, 30. Venezia, 1797.

[3] Gozzi, C., *Mem. inutili*, II, 17 et seq., and 96.

[4] La Tardella, known as *Madame Auguste*, was mistress of Duke Carl Eugene, at Stuttgart, in 1757.

[5] Casanova, *Mém.*, cit., I, 20.

and herself took to the stage, like her husband, making a name for herself by her impersonation of "cunning mischief, cloaked by a veil of studied modesty," as Goldoni says of her after meeting her at Verona with Giuseppe Imer's comic company. Gerolamo Medebac's first wife, Teodora Raffi, to whose charms it would seem that Goldoni was not indifferent, first won the applause of the Venetian public as a rope-dancer in a booth on the Piazzetta, in the pantomime company of her father Gasparo Raffi, born at Rome in 1668. Medebac joined the company, taught them the comic business, supplied the skeleton plays, and, after wedding the beautiful Teodora,[1] formed a new company, to which belonged the sister-in-law of Raffi, Rosalia, who married the famous pantaloon, Cesare d'Arbes, and Maddalena Raffi, wife of Marliani, ex-dancer, transformed into an excellent Brighella.

Goldoni, in his *Teatro Comico*, defends his views on the subject of the *commedia dell' arte* and supports the *commedia scritta*, and in doing so has given us in a few vivid strokes the life of the comedians. They always got up late. All morning the women either lay in bed or were at the toilette table; sleeping or painting themselves. The men, almost always hard up, full of debts, when they come to their last penny, pawn all they have to give themselves a good time. "When I have n't a sou, I sing all the same," says Tonino. But the life was not a happy one in reality; they were poorly fed and worse lodged; exposed to extremes of heat and cold. But to console them and dissipate the vapours, there were always the gullible protectors, who, to meet the caprices of these cunning fleecers,[2] "plunder their own

[1] Teodora Medebac died in 1761, forty-five years old. In 1767 Medebac, then sixty, married the Bolognese Rosa Scalabrini, twenty-five years of age. Musatti, Ces., *G. Medebac e il suo matrimonio con la Scalabrini* (in the *Ateneo Veneto*, Nov.-Dec. 1907).

[2] The comic interlude, the *Cantatrice*, where Goldoni describes the *sirene armoniche e le loro mamme*, was given under the title of the *Pelarina*,

granaries, sell their plate, and, if they have a wife, part with her jewels as well."[1]

It sometimes happened that one of these women would succeed in inducing her protector to marry her; for example, the famous singer, Faustina Bordoni, who enjoyed the not wholly disinterested protection of Alessandro Marcello, which, however, did not prevent her from marrying the Maestro Adolf Hasse, the *caro sassone*, to whom she made a by no means exemplary wife. Again, Teresa Ventura, daughter of a coachman of Vicenza, received the protection of the wealthy Benedetto Depretis, a courier of the Republic. He had her educated at the Mendicanti, in Venice, and in 1766 he married her, though she was only sixteen and he was seventy. This marriage was dissolved by mutual consent, and Teresa took to the stage, where she acquired a reputation for playing, singing, and dancing, and became a clever hand at all sorts of wiles. In 1773 the patrician Alvise Venier married her; but she proved far from faithful, and soon had in her net another patrician, Widmann, and the Bolognese Count Pepoli.[2] She died on January 4, 1790, and the Academy of the Rinnovati gave her a fine funeral in the Church of Santo Stefano, and placed two tablets to her memory in their assembly rooms, — one in Greek, the other in Latin, — lauding her marvellous ability in singing and declamation.[3]

These *mesalliances* among the nobility induced the government to adopt vigorous measures to check them. On May 5, 1765, the Inquisitors of State expelled a *ballerina* named Carlina, "for having induced a young gentleman of a distinguished patrician family to adopt

"che significa in veneziano una *dona che pela*, cioè che pilucca gli amanti." Goldoni, preface to Tom. IX of his *Commedie*, ed. Pasquali.

[1] Costantini, *Lett.*, cit., I, 88, 89.

[2] Ballarini, *Lett.*, cit., III, 206.

[3] Gasparella, *I musicisti vicentini*, p. 47. Vicenza, 1880.

the monstrous resolve to marry her."[1] Paolo Renier, a man of distinguished ability, also came to the same "monstrous resolve," when, on the death of his first wife, Giustina Donà, he married the Greek dancing-girl Margherita Dalmaz, whom he had known when he was Bailo at Constantinople. Nor did this scandalous match prevent Renier from ascending the ducal throne, though all his efforts to have the marriage registered in the Libro d'oro proved unavailing. Whenever the presence of a Dogaressa was required at public ceremonies, the place was filled by the Doge's niece Giustina Renier, a lady of unblemished repute.

Such marriages certainly shook and injured the reputation of certain noble families on the point which was held of highest moment; but a far more opprobrious habit infected the private life of some patrician houses, if we can trust certain authors who are not altogether malevolent. The custom that one only of several brothers should marry, so as to avoid the division of the family estate, gave rise to the insinuation that in many noble families it was found convenient to share the matrimonial couch, thus reviving that filthy habit with which Julius Cæsar charged the Britons of his day. We are inclined to believe, however, that there has been a tendency to generalise from one or two isolated instances.[2]

[1] Inquis. di Stato, Arch. di Stato, *Annotazioni*, 1763–1769.

[2] The assertion, which we believe to be largely a calumny, was accepted, among others, by Amelot de la Houssaye, and repeated by Businello in the following verses:

Ghe sarà tre fradeli in una casa
Un solo è maridà, ma tutti a mazzo
Con la cugnada se tiorà solazzo
E in comunela tutti toca e basa.

But neither the backbiting Businello nor Amelot, whose book is styled by Baschet *un long pamphlet fort indigne de créance* (*Les Archives de Venise*, cit,, p. 465) is to be accepted as an authoritative witness. Nor is Burnet (*Voy. de Suisse, d'It.*, etc., cit., p. 271) much more trustworthy. He says: "On croit même que souvent la femme qu'un des frères a épousée, sert

The courtesans naturally gave a still greater incentive to loose living, and the government itself, though it carefully regulated prostitution, did not attempt to suppress it, either on the false ground that the brothel was a kind of safeguard for the honesty of the domestic household, or because sensual pleasures diverted men's minds from other thoughts and other occupations.[1] Fathers of families encouraged their sons in similar *liaisons*, and Saint-Didier tells us that the son of one of the Procurators of San Marco having fallen in love with a beautiful courtesan, and unable to tear himself away from her house, his father, unwilling to lose his son's company, gave the youth leave to bring his mistress under the paternal roof.[2] It also sometimes happened that two or three young men would club together to keep a mistress, and would all meet at her house to laugh and eat and gamble together; and so a situation which usually gives rise to discord and hate would become a bond of union and friendship.[3]

aussi de femme à tous les autres." But Saint-Didier, who is truthful and impartial, and who resided in Venice from 1672 to 1674 as attaché to the Embassy of the Comte d'Avaux, does not deny the charge, though his judgment is more measured. He says: "Je pourrois bien assurer que cela ne se dit pas sans quelque fondement." (*La Ville et la Rép.*, cit., p. 315.) De Brosses (Lettre XIV), on the other hand, uses the subject as a topic for his sarcasm: "En se mariant la femme devient un meuble de communauté pour toute la famille, chose assez bien imaginée, puisque cela supprime l'embarras de la précaution, et que l'on est sûr d'avoir des héritiers du sang." Lastly, D'Argens, in his *Lettres Juives* (II, 231), makes the following prudent reserve: "Je crois que cette coutume est moins commune qu'on ne l'assûre; mais je ne pense pas qu'elle soit totalement hors d'usage."

[1] "L'on ne s'oppose jamais à la débauche de la jeune Noblesse; on semble mesme la vouloir fomenter. . . . On n'ignore point dans le Senat, qu'un voluptueux ne songe qu'à ses plaisirs; et qu'un dupé par les artifices d'une Courtisanne . . . n'a pas d'autre veuë que celle qui le conduit chez sa bien aimée. Ces sages Politiques laissent exprès évaporer les flammes de la jeunesse entre les bras de ces idoles, étouffant par un doux poison ces Esprits boüillans, qui pourroient renverser l'Estat par leurs saillies." [De La Haye], *La politique civ. et milit. des Vén.*, cit., pp. 44, 45.

[2] Saint-Didier, op. cit., p. 282.

[3] Amelot de la Houssaye, op. cit., Part III. [Malhows], *Voy.*, cit., II, 218.

Not only citizens and common folk, but also the nobles, and even some shameless priest, would openly appear with courtesans, haunting public resorts,[1] following them down the streets, while they accosted the passers by.[2] The city of pleasure was selected by great personages as the scene of their amours; also by foreign princes, like Carlo Ferdinando Gonzaga, last Duke of Mantua, who in his palace at Santa Sofia gave free rein to his loose appetites and surrounded himself with courtesans.[3]

[1] Businello (*Sat.*, cit., *La Moda*, c. 66):

Oh che Moda oh che Moda sù i Festini
Ogn'un g'hà la so ninfa parechiada,
Dove a son de Chittara pizzegada
Se balla, e se despensa bollettini.

[2] Dotti (*Sat.*, cit., *Il Carnevale*, Part I, p. 123) thus describes the courtesans walking in the piazza:

Che solinghe van cercando
Lavoriero al lor mestiere.

Se riesce a queste lamie
D'allettar qualche mal pratico
A commetter mille infamie
Lo riducono al *Salvatico*.

O se attrappano a fortuna
Qualche astrologo profondo
Lo conducono alla *Luna*.

A note of the *Magistrato alla Bestemmia* (Arch. di Stato, B[a] XX, 1749) has the following entry: "Fra tante p . . . di piaza che ogni sera son a San Marco, la più barona e scandalosa è una detta la Romana, grande di statura con andrié color di riose, cordelato a cordele color de perle, stata altra volta menata via. Costei, oltre le sporcheze fa in mezo piaza, luoghi sconti, e sotto le Procuratie con mascherati e smascherati, si fa lecito chiamar tutti."

[3] Del Teglia, already quoted, wrote on February 19, 1677: "Il Ser[mo] di Mantova si è poi risoluto di prender le Ceneri a Venezia, non dovendo permettere allegrie carnevalesche nella sua città in faccia della Ser[ma] consorte, vedova del proprio genitore; onde meglio S. A. si divertirà qui con madama la Montespan di Mantua, tale chiamandosi hora la Francesina servita dall' A. S. pubblicamente" (*Lett. dei Res.*, cit., file 3040, fol. 62). On August 13, 1678, he writes: "Il Ser[mo] di Mantova si è portato espressamente qui con pochi cavalieri, ed ha fatta rapina d'una bella figlia, ma di bassa condizione" (Ibid., file 3040, fol. 259). On February 1, 1681, he writes: "Al Duca di Mantova benchè provveduto di

Even in the first half of the seventeenth century the courtesans of Venice continued to enjoy their old reputation for beauty and grace. In a poem of the Seicento Venice is made to plume herself on their attractions:

> Quanto son scaltre le mie cortigiane
> Sanno usar con gli amanti arte e drittura:
> Prodighe a quelli dan tutto il cuor loro
> E si tirano a sè l'argento e l'oro.[1]

Some of these ladies lived in sumptuous apartments on the Grand Canal,[2] and dressed in the height of fashion with gold, pearls, and jewels[3]; they walked the streets, went to church covering their sumptuous gowns with long white veils of silk, which were usually the proper wear for young maidens,[4] or they leaned out of the windows "bien parées et fardées pour attirer des pratiques."[5]

molte Veneri, che a branchi si sono di qui portate in quella città, riesce così strana l'absenza dall'aria felice di questo ser^mo cielo, che appena partitone a' giorni passati, pensa ritornarvi" (Ibid., file 3041, fol. 372). In the *Correspondances politiques . . . addressées à Charles Güntzer syndic royal de la ville de Strasbourg (1631–1685)*, publ. par Rod. Reuss. (p. 136. Paris, 1890), one reads: "Paris, le 17 mars 1685. Il y a beaucoup de princes almands qui sont à Venise, qui y sont allez pour le divertissement du carneval; entre autres le duc de Hanover, évesque d'Osnabrug, qui a donné un fort grand régal à 200 courtisanes de cette ville là."

[1] *Storia graziosa e piacevole, la quale contiene un' bellissimo contrasto, che fa la città di Napoli con Venezia.* Venezia, 1605. In the *Corriere svaligiato* (II, 171), written by Ferrante Pallavicino, there is a curious letter on the courtesans of Venice. Businello (*Sat.*, cit., fol. 135) has left us the names of the more famous of his day: Emilia la Corsara, Cattina Gritti, Perina Nave, Momola Todeschina, Saretta Gallinera, Anzola Padoana, Veronica la Vacca, Lucietta Frutariola, Vittoria Feltrina, etc.

[2] Provv. alle Pompe, Decree of January 16, 1612, *In materia delle habitationi delle meretrici.* Pinelli.

[3] Ibid., Decree of January 4, 1623. Pinelli.

[4] Ibid., Decree of February 26, 1624. Pinelli. Del Teglia mentions another decree of January 13, 1682, in a letter dated January 17, 1682: "Fu fatto rigoroso proclama, col quale si prohibiscono gli habiti sì da huomo come da donna con ricami, code, merli e gioie di qualsiasi sorte sotto rigorosissime pene, particolarmente alle meretrici che portassero abiti sopranominati, o le velette all' uso delle gentildonne, come havevano già introdotto che, oltre la pena pecuniaria od altro, venendo prese, sieno poste in berlina." *Lett. dei Resid.*, cit., file 3041, fol. 655.

[5] [Malhows], *Voy.*, cit., II, 210.

Towards the close of the Settecento the number and the attractiveness of the courtesans declined, and the reason assigned by De La Lande, if true, reflects little credit on Venetian ladies. "Il y a un siècle," he says, "qu'elles (the courtesans) étoient en vogue, parce qu'on ne fréquentoit point les dames: maintenant il y a peu de femmes qui soient entretenues, et elles ne le sont pas d'une manière brillante. Les filles publiques sont le partage de la plus vile populace."[1] Costantini confirms this view, and declares that, excluding the unfortunates who belonged to the populace, the elegant *demi-mondaines* were reduced to a very small number, and that the reason was the vanity of the married women, who in order to attract admirers vied with the courtesans in all the arts of seduction and in the shamelessness of their indulgence.[2] Nevertheless Venice still numbered some beautiful and elegant courtesans, such as those recorded by President De Brosses: Ancilla, Camilla, Faustolla, Zulietta, Anzoletta, Catina, Spina, and Agatina. "Je ne crois pas," says the President, "que les fées ni les anges ensemble puissent, de leurs dix doigts, former deux aussi belles créatures que la Zulietta et l'Ancilla"; and he adds that the latter was considered the most beautiful woman in Italy.[3]

Some among the daughters of the people also lent their persons to this degrading traffic and sold themselves to the panderers for rich men's vices.[4] These girls of

[1] De La Lande, *Voy.*, cit., VII, 33.

[2] Costantini, *Lett.*, cit., IV, 54.

[3] De Brosses, *Lettres*, cit., XVIII. Ancilla was also the mistress of Casanova, who calls her the most famous of the Venetian courtesans (*Mém.*, cit., II, 75).

[4] Saint-Didier, op. cit., p. 332. Longhi has left us two pictures portraying the arts employed by pimps to seduce girls of the people. But we must repeat that, with some rare exceptions, the populace of Venice was morally sounder than the upper classes. D'Argens (*Lettres Juives*, cit.) has collected gossip which does not merit credence: "De dix filles qui s'abandonnent, il y en a neuf dont les mères et les tantes font elles-mêmes le marché, et conviennent longtemps d'avance du prix de leur virginité, pour les livrer, dès qu'elles auront atteint un certain âge,

the people were often beautiful and attractive.[1] Not to mention others, we may recall the *Padovana* recorded by Rousseau in his *Confessions*, and the Venetian brunette, Zulietta, full of abandon, vivacity, and wit, in whose chamber the French philosopher found a temple of love and beauty.[2]

Venice always offered a convenient refuge for people of every country and of every type. The gentle character of its inhabitants and the provisions of the government rendered the streets secure, while the mysterious aspect of the city seemed made to cloak love affairs or the seamier side of life, and doubtful characters and ambiguous faces could thread unobserved the network of its alleys, while the mask was a ready accomplice to their designs. No place ever appeared better adapted as a hotbed of iniquity; the dark houses in gloomy and far-off recesses of the city seemed made to be the refuge of coiners,[3] astrologers, alchemists, fortune-tellers, cabalists, and venders of *elixir vitæ*. In spite of the fact that the government took severe measures to regulate the sale of drugs, superstition could not be eradicated,

moïennant cent ou deux cents ducats: afin, disent elles, d'avoir de quoi les marier."

[1] "Les femmes sont plus belles ici qu'en aucun endroit, *surtout* parmi le peuple." De Brosses, *Lettre XIV*.

[2] Rousseau, *Confessions*, Part II, Lib. VII (1743–1744).

[3] On May 17, 1603, a Calabrian was burned on the piazzetta for coining (Arch. di Stato, Firenze, *Lett. dei Res.*, cit., file 2998, fol. 136). On November 22 and 29, 1603, the Resident, Montauto, reports on the false coin in circulation (foll. 289, 290, and 296): "questi Signori sono in grandissimo travaglio per conto de' quattrini falsi, et vi hanno fatto non so che bandi et ordini, che mando alligati: ma se questa città fosse capace di sollevationi et tumulti populari, ogni cosa era vano, perchè tutto andava alla peggio. Hanno usato gran diligentia in fare che molti bargelli vadino di continuo in volta con grosse comitive di birri, et faccino tenere aperti i fornari, magazzini di vino ed altri simili, et dar pane, vino et altri vittuari per quattrini, sebbene erano falsi; et così han rimediato che la gran quantità di poveri disperati non han fatto violenze. Adesso si sentono esclamationi infinite, et cominciano a vedersi dei fallimenti. . . . Alli fornari et simili ha promesso il Prencipe cambiarli con denari buoni i cattivi che han preso; ma Dio sa quel che sarà!" On December 20, 1603 (foll. 317 et seq.), Montauto sent another letter on the amount of false coin in circulation.

and quacks openly sold their specifics to a willing public and even secured concessions from the government itself.[1]

Giuseppe Balsamo, of Palermo, the famous Count Cagliostro, was welcomed in Venice. He had fled his native country on a charge of theft, and under various names he travelled through the East and Europe, persuading many that he had the secret of rejuvenescence. In September of 1788 he reached Venice under the name of Marchese Pellegrini; with him was his wife, the beautiful and intriguing Lorenza Feliciani. They found hospitality with a rich merchant of the Giudecca. He soon made the acquaintance of many great ladies and patricians, and relieved their pockets of many a sequin in return for his elixir of youth and his philosopher's stone. But as his promises failed to take effect, the Inquisitors thought it well to turn their attention to the impudent swindler; and he, foreseeing the storm, left Venice in a hurry.

In the cosmopolitan city there was a whole army of sham princes, broken financiers, gamesters, literary parasites, women of doubtful reputation, and swindlers. Foreign adventurers were drawn to Venice for longer or briefer sojourn: John Law, the fugitive French minister; Baron Poellnitz (1692–1775), who left Berlin for Paris, and after seeking in vain to create a fortune in Poland, Saxony, Austria, and Italy, returned in the end

[1] Montauto (*Lett. dei Res.*, cit., fol. 310) writes on December 13, 1603: "Qui è un medico, che seben dice esser dottorato in Padova, è però empirico et monta in banco con tenere una corte, nonchè una comitivà grossa; et essendo fama che egli faccia miracoli . . . ha credito grande et privilegii da questi signori di poter medicare. . . . Et fra l'altre sue fortune buone, ha anco molti di questi signori che si sono valsi della sua opera con felice successo; sì che lo celebrano et aiutano quanto possono, et a me han parlato alcuni d'essi instandomi a procurarli licenza di poter medicare nel medesimo modo anche in Toscana." This doctor was brother to Cesare Corvino, surgeon in Florence. In another letter dated December 20, 1603 (loc. cit., fol. 314), Montauto mentions certain secret medicines ordered by the Grand Duchess of Tuscany from a druggist in Venice.

Comte de Cagliostro — from an engraving by Bartolozzi

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to Berlin and the Court of Frederick the Great; Frederic Baltimore, who after travelling in the East and adopting its usages settled in Italy; Count Claude Alessandre Bonneval (1675–1747), whose troubled life found a brief respite in the lagoons, though he was forced to flee to Turkey, where he became a Mussulman; the Marquis d'Argens (1704–1771), a brave soldier and no mean writer, Chamberlain and Director of Fine Arts at the Court of Frederick II, which post he had to abandon when, at the age of sixty, he married a young actress; lastly, Angelo Goudar, philosopher and politician, rogue and spy, prolific scribbler, who deals with Venice in certain tracts published either anonymously or under the name of the beautiful Sara Goudar, who passed for his wife and was picked up by him in a London tavern and transformed into a lady of taste and fashion.[1]

Italy was swarming with vagabonds in search of fortune either by their wits, by violence, or by roguery. Aggressive and insolent, of lively intelligence, double-minded, of smooth and pleasant address, meaning one thing and pretending another, they caught the credulous in their net and, with no visible means of livelihood and no recognised profession, they managed by a thousand devices to satisfy their greed and to make good their lack of cash.

Of such adventurers the most modern type is revealed in Casanova. Born in Venice in 1725, son of the actress Zanetta, he was, to begin with, expelled from the Venetian Seminary and then from an infantry regiment at Corfù; he then returned to his native country and took to playing the violin in the theatre; after that he wandered over Europe, always active and indefatigable, now a financier, now a manufacturer, now a gamester, combining in one the love of pleasure and the

[1] Ademollo, *Un avventuriero francese in Italia*. Bergamo, 1891.

love of gold. At last he returned to the lagoons, and in 1755 he was arrested and condemned to five years in the *Piombi* on the charge of having published immoral and irreligious writings, and of having endeavoured to recruit adepts for the lodges of the Free Masons.[1] On November 1, 1756, he effected the flight from prison which he has described with such admirable vivacity.[2] After some years Casanova again appeared in Venice, and in 1780 the fugitive from the *Piombi* secured the office and pay of spy, or, to use the euphemism then in vogue, of "familiar" to the Inquisitors. He was, however, incorrigible; he published a libel on a patrician whose generosity had aided him, and was forced to leave Venice and resume his wandering life. In Paris he made the acquaintance of Count Waldstein, who took him to the Castle of Dux, near Toeplitz, where he died in 1798.

Another Venetian, Count Francesco Apostoli, born in 1755, whose father was Secretary to the Senate, redeemed the errors and defects of a restless life by certain gifts of intellect and spirit and by his sufferings in the cause of liberty. The fact that for four years he held the ignoble post of "familiar" to the Inquisitors could not quench the flame of revolution within him. In 1794 he fell under suspicion of being in illicit correspondence with Tilly, the French consul at Genoa; he was imprisoned in the *Piombi* and subsequently condemned to two years' relegation to a fortress in Corfù.[3] We may mention also Count Giuseppe Gorani,

[1] Fulin, *G. Casanova e gl'Inquisitori di Stato*, p. 5. Venezia, 1877.

[2] Fulin thinks that Casanova escaped with the connivance of the jailer and the Inquisitors. D'Ancona (*Nuova Antologia*, February and August, 1882), on the other hand, has demonstrated the veracity of Casanova's story. The bill for repairing the damage wrought by the fugitive still exists, and it is impossible to believe in the connivance of the Inquisitors in face of the fact that Lorenzo Basadonna, Casanova's jailer, was condemned to ten years' imprisonment for his carelessness.

[3] On the fall of the Republic Apostoli was given a post by the French. This led, in 1799, to his being sent, along with others connected with the

Giacomo Casanova

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of Milan, card-sharper and courageous soldier, shameless libertine and witty writer, who made Venice his home for a brief period.[1]

We cannot, of course, class such a man as Lorenzo da Ponte with characters like the preceding. He was gifted with a generous spirit and fine culture, though his dissipated and wandering life, described by him in his *Memorie*, compel us to enroll him among the large band of literary adventurers. In truth, Da Ponte represents the incarnate life of the type portrayed by Goldoni in his *Avventuriere onorato*, "who," as Goldoni himself says, "if he is not drawn from myself has at least been through as many adventures and plied as many trades as I."[2] Certainly the "Guglielmo" of the play is not a true likeness of Goldoni, whose honesty was spotless, while his protagonist, after being schoolmaster, doctor, secretary, chancellor in the courts, comic playwright, and merchant, flees to Palermo to escape his creditors, is maintained by a gentleman of kind heart but empty pocket, and ends by marrying a rich widow and abandoning the girl of his affections, who, instead of the marriage veil, assumes the nun's coif.

Da Ponte is really much nearer this type of adventurer, — not bad at heart, but devoid of any fine feeling and ready for any transaction or arrangement. He was born at Ceneda in 1749, and belonged to a Jewish family, called Conegliano, converted to Christianity; he took the name of Lorenzo da Ponte, then Bishop of Ceneda, and after finishing his studies he entered holy orders. In 1773 he went to Venice, where

Cisalpine Republic, to the terrible dungeons of Dalmatia and Hungary. The *Lettere Sirmiensi* give a vivid account of his sufferings during his deportation. He died in poverty in 1816 (*Lettere Sirmiensi*, edited by D'Ancona. Roma, 1906).

[1] Tivaroni, *L'Italia prima della Riv. francese*, Part XI, Chap. I. Torino, 1888.

[2] Goldoni, *Mém.*, cit., I, 353.

he paid more devotion to the beautiful eyes of Angiolina Tiepolo than to his sacred calling. He became reader in Humanity in the Seminary of Treviso, and taught doctrines little pleasing to the government, which dismissed the troublesome abbé without ceremony. He returned to Venice as tutor to the sons of Giorgio Pisani, but presently left for Dresden and Vienna, where he was gladly welcomed by Joseph II, and wrote several dramas for music, among them *Don Giovanni* for Mozart. On the death of the Emperor in 1790, he fell into embarrassments, though they did not prevent him from marrying an English brunette, who persuaded him to abandon his clerical garb.[1]

Nor can we consider Alessandro Pepoli as a true adventurer, though he displayed many characteristics of that type. He was a genial happy-go-lucky, born at Bologna but Venetian by connections and residence[2]; and in some respects he resembles another Bolognese noble, the writer of comedies, Francesco Albergati, who spent many years in the lagoons. Antonio Longo, a poor intelligence and poorer character, who was a constant guest of Pepoli, thus describes his patron: "Within the space of a single day you would see him in the *rôle* of poet, — tragic, comic, dramatic, epic, — dancer, rope-walker, whip, oarsman, musician, flute-player, lacquey, orator, horseman, fencer, billiard-player, runner, and, in his latter years, even a wrestler."[3] The poetess Aglaia Anassilide (that is, Angela Veronesi), born at Biadene in the Trevigiano, daughter of the gardener to the Zenobio family at Santa

[1] *Memorie di Lorenzo Da Ponte*, compiled by J. Bernardi. Firenze, 1871. Marchesan, *Della vita e delle opere di L. Da Ponte*. Treviso, 1900. Da Ponte and his wife wandered over Europe and finally left for America in search of a fortune. At Sunbury and in New York he set up as a druggist and gave lessons in Italian. He died in 1838, nearly ninety years of age.

[2] Alessandro was born in 1757, son of Count Cornelio Pepoli and the Venetian patrician Marina Grimani. He died in Florence in 1796.

[3] Longo, *Memorie*, cit., Vol. I, Chap. XIX.

Bona near Treviso and then to the Albrizzi, finding herself one day reading heroic romances under the pergolas and among the statues of nymphs and shepherds of the Zenobio garden, saw Pepoli pass along the Terraglio, driving two fiery horses; the poetess had a vision of Apollo and at once composed a sonnet to the Count. He died young, regretted by many, but chiefly by his creditors.

An honest and jovial adventurer, Buonafede Vitali, — better known as the Anonimo, a name he gave himself, — won and merited Goldoni's praises. He was born in 1686 at Busseto, and tried his hand at all professions. He was a Jesuit for a while; then he took to arms. He won his doctor's degree in medicine and surgery, which he practised in many cities of Europe, where he successfully attended pontiffs and princes; he wrote treatises on medicine, was director of the mines at Schio and Treto near Vicenza; he transformed the three-legged stool of the mountebank into a professorial chair, a pulpit, a theatre, and died at Verona in 1745.[1]

In contrast with these feather-brained, light-hearted wanderers we meet with some morose and rancorous spirits, always at loggerheads with men and things; the *Don Marzi* of Goldoni's play, who vented their spleen in petty hatreds and avenged themselves for their supposed injuries by defaming even their fatherland. Such were Leopoldo Curti, Regent at Vicenza, and Pier Antonio Gratarol, Secretary to the Senate, who, as the result of an affair with an actress, was forced to quit Venice and take refuge in Stockholm, whence he inveighed against his native city.

But the voice of these prophets of evil was drowned in the gaiety of the Venetian temperament, which was more attuned to the humour of the genial scamps she

[1] Goldoni, *Mém.*, cit., I, 168. Pezzana, *Scritt. e lett. parmigiani*, VII, 107 et seq. Parma, 1833. D'Ancona, *Una macchietta goldoniana* (in the *Strenna dell' Istituto dei Rachitici*. Genova, 1890.)

welcomed. In some of these, like Da Ponte and Pepoli, their naturally noble nature was vitiated and driven to adventure by the prevailing atmosphere; others found the conditions of Venetian society well suited for the pursuit of their dubious designs. In them revive types of early Italian society, — the astrologers, alchemists, courtiers, wandering artists, and soldiers of fortune[1]; Pietro Aretino ends in Giacomo Casanova. The most various passions and vices were united in a single person. Nominally in revolt against all tyranny, they nevertheless sought to insinuate themselves among the noble and the rich. Devoured by that spleen which always torments those whose position is not assured, they still reposed on the placid egoism of the born adventurer, like the famous Francesco Baroni, of Prato, a most vicious backbiter, whose venomous tongue delighted the coffee-houses and who lived on Count Pepoli. Pepoli describes Baroni's adventures in a poem called the *Triboleide*, hitherto unpublished. Antonio Longo is another not unlike Baroni, — parasite, flatterer, author of the *Memorie* of his own life, for it is a characteristic of all these men that they desired to hand down to posterity an account of their doings, from which, in spite of lies and exaggerations, we can still gather certain curious details regarding their epoch.

1 Masi, *Carlo Gozzi e la Commedia dell' Arte* (*Nuova Antologia*, fasc. IV, p. 663. February 16, 1890).

CHAPTER XII

WOMEN IN SOCIETY — CULTURED LADIES — LOVE-LETTERS AND SALONS

SURROUNDED by the heavy decoration of the Seicento, its pompous dress and its solemnity of manner, the ladies of Venice found admirers who thought them *belles et bien faites*,[1] and superior "in beauty and grace to all the women of Italy."[2] Saint-Didier says that the patrician ladies "sont pour la plûpart grandes, majestueuses, fières et dédaigneuses en apparence"; but he observes that in their carriage, in their walk, in their manner of saluting, there was a certain air of stiffness and constraint, and that these great dames, under the weight of their awkward headgear, made their curtsey "en trois temps, pliant les genoux, avançant le ventre et baissant la tête successivement."[3]

This stiffness of movement was due, no doubt, to the ancient custom of wearing high pattens, a custom which had not entirely gone out even at the close of the century. There were those who held that this strange kind of footgear not only added to the dignity of the wearer, but was, in a way, a guaranty for the honesty of their wives and daughters. On this point Lassels remarks that "cela se faisait par politique, et que c'était une voie adroite pour faire demeurer les

[1] Lassels, *Voy.*, cit.

[2] Fermanel, Fauvel, Beaudouin, De Launay and De Stochowe, *Le voyage d'Italie et du Levant* (1630–1632). Rouen, 1630.

[3] Saint-Didier, *La Ville et la Rép.*, cit., pp. 297, 300.

femmes au logis, ou pour les empêcher d'aller bien loin seules et en cachette."[1] Saint-Didier tells us that the daughters of the Doge Domenico Contarini (1659-1675) were the first to give up the use of pattens, and says: "Il y a grand apparence que la politique des maris avoit introduit un pareil usage, dont on dit qu'ils se trouvoient fort bien." And in fact, when an ambassador one day, in the presence of the Doge and his council, praised the two Contarini ladies for adopting the more convenient fashion of shoes instead of pattens, one of the Councillors broke in with the remark: "Convenient! much too convenient."[2] This grumble of the Venetian nobleman is explained by the verses of Businello:

Zà, zà le andava su do pali grandi
Per no farse veder cussì da rente;
Adesso le va basse fra la zente
Perchè no se scoverza i contrabandi.

The true type of Venetian women in the Seicento has not been successfully given by the painters of the period. Few portraits remain to us, and of these, the stiff figures, laced into their dresses, leave the impression of artificial hauteur and gravity induced by their surroundings. The portraits of Venetian women by Tiberio Tinelli, which Ridolfi praises as "so fresh and vivacious, expressing exactly the splendour and seductiveness of Venetian life," have been either lost or destroyed. Nor do historical pictures, whether sacred or profane, reveal to us the aspect and bearing of Venetian women, as do the pictures of the Cinquecento. Art is truth seen through human temperament; every artist, accordingly, gives us the truth of the human form as realised by himself. It is clear that the painters of the sixteenth century, each in his own individual style, reproduced the natural form and the natural expression

[1] Lassels, op. cit.
[2] Saint-Didier, op. cit., p. 303.

PORTRAIT of a Venetian Lady of the early XVII century. (Venice, in the Salvadori Collection)

Photo by Filippi

of human life in his day; and artistic education was based on a close observation of the real, which soaked into the mind of the artist, so that even when he did not copy direct from living models he still gave to his figures the imprint of the essential elements in the Venetian type.

The artists of the following epoch, on the other hand, saw life through a medium of artificiality; they studied nature under a theatrical and decorative preconception. In Padovanino's "Minerva" we catch a note of femininity and nervousness unwonted in the Seicento, and the same may be said of Domenico Tintoretto's "Maddalena." The first has a delicately pensive countenance and a slim and flexible body; the second, a pale face harrowed by remorse but also by passion; the eyes are still ablaze with expectation, and the lithe figure trembles under the violence of voluptuous energy and assumes suggestive and seductive attitudes. But, as a rule, the Venetian artists of the seventeenth century, in their Madonnas, — seated, kneeling, or sprawling ungracefully, — in their chubby Babes that have so little of the divine about them, in their florid and self-indulgent saints, make no effort to reproduce the characteristic type of the race. In their female nudes the healthy abundant flesh of Titian's or Paolo's Venuses becomes mere flabby fat in Palma Giovane's naked women.

In literature, too, the women are sketched with far less vigour and veracity. The style is hampered with metaphors and grotesque figures. Ferdinando Donno, a priest born at Manduria near Otranto, published in 1620 several volumes in praise of Venice, among them one on the various ceremonies accompanying the *Sposalizio del Mar*.[1] The poet describes *le belle Veneri divine* to be found among the Venetian nobility, who "with royal and majestic carriage, with regal step and

[1] Donno, Ferd., *L'allegro giorno veneto ouero lo Sponsalitio del mare*, an heroic poem. Venetia, typ. Sarzina, 1620.

proud," took part in the dances at the Ducal Palace, — Altadonna Giustinian, Angeletta da Ponte, Agnesina Martinengo, Grazia Bembo, Laura Molin, Cecilia Donato, Fiammetta Minio, Margherita Gradenigo, Amedea Caotorta, Cinzia da Mosto, Fontana da Riva, Violante Soranzo, Lucia Sagredo, *luce d'ogni beltate*, Celia Dolfin, Elisa Michiel, Alba Canal, Chiara Moro, Caterina Cappello

Tenendo al crin di gloriosa stima
Regio cappel con aureo giglio in cima,

Adamante Paruta,

Del tesoro d'Honor gemma gentile,

Paolina Badoer,

D'ammirata bellezza unico Sole.

So, too, in other works of a similar style, the female figure disappears, overshadowed by the conventional phrases; and yet through the obscurity we may still catch glimpses of some noble personality, — Paolina Loredan Contarini and Elisabetta Quirini Valier, gentle, modest, and virtuous amidst the splendour of the ducal throne; the nun Tarabotti and her companion in the cloister, Regina Donà, *donna semidivina*. Tarabotti mentions other patrician ladies who kept their fair fame unspotted from the world, such as Aquila Barbaro, *decoro di Parnaso;* Elena Foscolo, *bellissima d'anima e di corpo;* Elisabetta Polani, "the dearest, gentlest, most wise and gracious lady that God, Nature, and the Graces ever formed." [1]

In this century we shall find no one to match with Elena Corner Piscopia (b. 1646), beautiful, clever, good, gentle, cultured in all learning, fluent in many languages, exquisite judge of art, and, above all, most virtuous. On the death of this young patrician, in July, 1684, a contemporary exclaimed: "Quenched

[1] Tarabotti, *Lett. familiari*, p. 139. Venezia, 1650.

THE Fortune-teller, by G. B. Piazzetta.
(Venice, Academy)

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by a fatal eclipse is the fairest star that gemmed with its glorious rays the Adriatic heavens"[1]; her funeral honours were worthy of her fame.[2] It is true there still existed ladies of a noble pride who would have known how to answer as did a Contarini when Carlo Emanuele II of Savoy tried to kiss her arm. "If these be the manners of Turin," she said, "they are quite unknown in Venice, and your Highness will never succeed in introducing them." The story is a true one, and is told by Lorenzo Magalotti in 1667; it goes to confirm Payen's eulogy: "Les gentiles Donnes, quoy qu'esclaves, prisonnières et malheureuses sont autant sages qu'elles sont belles." And Lassels says: "Qu'elles souhaitent d'avoir la même reputation de fidelité que leurs maris,"[3] — a very doubtful statement, if the truth must be told; and in fact Payen goes on: "Si les autres Dames ne sont point si parfaites, elles sont du moins plus obligeantes, et se donnent quelque fois des libertez, qui ne sçauroient déplaire aux étrangers."[4] But the freedom they enjoyed was, after all, limited, and Sagredo declares that "the service their cavaliers rendered to the ladies consisted in attending them when they left their houses to go to church or convent, in masquerading at balls, and in corrupting the waiting-maids, who were quite open to it."[5] In the poetry of the period the Venetian ladies are represented as absolutely devoid of true passion, and yet preferring kisses to warm words,[6] and quite ready to engage in a

[1] Ivanovich, *Minerva*, cit., p. 375.

[2] *Le Pompe Funebri celebrate dai signori Accademici Infecondi di Roma, per la morte dell' illustriss. signora Elena Lucrezia Cornara Piscopia accademica detta l'Inalterabile.* Padova, 1686.

[3] Lassels, *Voy.*, cit., II, 267.

[4] Payen, *Les Voy.*, cit., p. 159.

[5] *Arcadia in Brenta*, cit., p. 179.

[6] In the *Complimenti amorosi* of G. Brusoni (p. 251, Venetia, 1668) a lady says to her lover: "È stato più potente il bacio che mi deste iersera alla sfuggita, che tutte le parole, che v'ho sentito a dire in due anni, e che ho letto o ascoltato nella legion dei poeti e dei romanzi, in dodici."

love affair about which they would make no secret to their friends, from whom they expected help.[1] Gianfrancesco Loredano does not hesitate to declare that "woman is a monster in the human race; her reason resides in her senses, her honour depends on the will of man, her virtue consists in hiding her vices."[2] And this judgment of the honourable patrician is shared by that mean writer Brusoni, who, while he cynically derides the cuckold husbands, declares that nothing could restrain the women "from rushing to the pastures of lubricity, falling into the abyss of impurity, and burying there their own and the family honour."[3]

Love affairs of this sort, even when they do not end in bloodshed by the outraged husband, are always depressing; the very compliments and love phrases, in their laboured and artificial form, lack all touch of that spontaneity which lends grace to and sometimes justifies guilty passion. Lovers protest to the objects of their devotion that they are temples of beauty "whose walls are ivory, like your flesh; the door, that is the mouth, set with pearls in rubies, like the teeth between your lips; the windows of purest crystal, like your eyes."[4] On other occasions the compliment takes the form of a vulgar pun; for instance, a company of ladies and their lovers found themselves in a garden, when one of the gentlemen, gathering a posy of violets, tossed them at a lady, exclaiming, "Now, for the future, you

[1] Albertazzi, *Romanzieri e romanzi*, cit., pp. 302 et seq.

[2] Loredano, *Lettere*, I, 234.

[3] Brusoni, *Il Camerotto*, p. 53. Venezia, 1645. In his *Elogio delle Corna*, published in an appendix to the *Camerotto*, Brusoni says: "E che diavolo di male si trova al fine in queste benedette corna, che tutto il mondo le abborrisce e le maledice, come se fossero appunto due vasi di Pandora apportatori al mondo di calamità, mentre la maggior felicità, che si possa imaginar fra mortali si è l'onore di portar su la fronte un paio di bellissime corna? . . . Le donne in questa città, nel passar a marito s'alzano in testa due bionde corna crinite, che sembrano appunto tante gentili comete, annunziatrici di benigne influenze alle famiglie dove entrano."

[4] Sagredo, *Arcadia in Brenta*, cit., pp. 70, 71.

MINERVA — a painting by Padovanino. *Photo by Anderson*
(Rome, Borghese Gallery)

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can't say you have never been violated (*violata*)," whereupon the lady, picking some musk and flinging it at the man, cried, "If I've been violated, I've had my revenge and musketted (*moschettato*) you."[1]

Culture among women declined still further when the light of the Renaissance died out; for even in Venice, though less than in other countries, the Renaissance had its illuminating effect on the female mind. We come across a poetess or two, or a literary lady here and there; and besides Elena Corner Piscopia and Arcangela Tarabotti we may mention the Jewess Sara Copia, Angela Carminati Cossali, Maria Alberghetti, and Veneranda Bragadin Cavalli. But Tarabotti herself recognises that women, as a rule, turn out "stupid in conversation and silly in counsel," though she lays the blame on the men who debar the female intelligence from competing with the male and prevent women from attending the Universities and from taking part in political life; "though many a man, after studying lustre after lustre, remains as stupid and ignorant as he was to begin with."[2] A physician and writer of Verona, contemporary with Arcangela Tarabotti, Dr. Francesco Pona, holds, on the other hand, that "it must be reckoned a miracle if a woman who, desirous of rising superior to her own sex, has dedicated herself to study, escapes with her mind and spirit unsullied by vices and abominations."[3] Nor is Gianfrancesco Loredano more courteous when he declares it as his opinion that genius, skill in the arts, or quickness of intelligence is rarely to be met with among women.[4]

In polite society of the Seicento the ladies were wont to sing, accompanying themselves on the spinet, the lute, or the guitar; they would also amuse themselves

[1] Sagredo, *Arcadia in Brenta*, cit., p. 144.

[2] Galerana Baratotti, *La semplicità ingannata*, p. 97. Leyden, 1654.

[3] Eureta Misoscolo (Francesco Pona), *La Lucerna*, etc., p. 18. Venetia, 1628.

[4] Loredano, *Lett.*, cit., I, 40.

with the games which were popular during the preceding century[1]; or they would listen to spicy tales of intrigue, told by some ready-tongued gallant, or to long dissertations on love,[2] in which they would mingle Latin and Italian, and quote passages from French and Italian romances, the delight of fashionable ladies in those days. The gentlemen, for their part, quoted Petrarch and Tasso or, by preference, Marino and Testi,[3] or recited wanton madrigals in the style of Guido Casoni, of Serravalle, called "the sun of modern poesie"[4]:

Negre luci infocate,
Soavissimo inferno
Dell' alme innamorate,
Tra l'ombre, e 'l foco eterno,
Ch'arde in voi, mi tenete
Arso in tormento di perpetua sete.[5]

In the next century the intellect and the expression undergo a change along with the change in dress, and women's faces become brighter and more lively, the figure assumes a certain graceful freedom in the carriage and the walk. Foreign writers of the Settecento bestow high praise on the beauty of Venetian women. "Ce n'est pas qu'on y trouve plus qu'ailleurs des beautés ravissantes; mais communément le grand

[1] Nolfi (*Ginepedia*, cit., p. 412) gives us the names of a number of games, such as the *Oracolo*, the *Inferno amoroso*, the *Imprese*, the *Meraviglie*, the *Metamorfosi*, the *Proverbi*, the *Ghirlande*, the *Epitaffi*, the *Senato amoroso*, the *Fate*, etc. The Trevisan, Bartolomeo Burchelati, describes the parties, games, dances, and assemblies which took place at Treviso in the Palace of the Podestà Marcantonio Michiel, Venetian patrician; his book is called *Le veglie avute in Trevigi nel pubblico Palazzo, l'anno 1610*. Treviso, Righettini, 1614.

[2] Among the many tedious dissertations of that time we may quote *Li dubbi amorosi* of Gio. Fr. Loredano (Venetia, 1669). Loredano resolves the doubts of a German lady "con quella sincera libertà che è propria di Nobile Veneto per intendere i sensi del cuore e per esperimento delle sottigliezze dell' ingegno."

[3] Brusoni, *La gondola a tre remi*, cit., p. 69.

[4] *Le Glorie degli Incogniti ovvero gli uomini illustri dell' Accad. degli Incogniti*, p. 293. Venetia, 1647.

[5] Brusoni, *La gondola a tre remi*, cit., p. 31.

MARY MAGDALEN — a painting by Domenico Tintoretto. (Rome, Galleria Capitolina) *Photo by Alinari*

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nombre est joli et en général elles ont toutes la taille et le teint beaux, la bouche grande et agréable, les dents blanches et bien rangées"; so says De Brosses in 1739, and a quarter of a century later De La Lande affirms that "les femmes sont belles, elles y sont très blanches; on y voit plus de blondes que dans le reste d'Italie."[1] At the close of the century Arthur Young says that the fair sex in Venice was remarkable for beauty, the complexion charming; but it was neither figure, nor complexion, nor features which form their chief characteristic, but their expression, which was of an extraordinary sweetness without the insipidity which so often accompanies it.[2] Some qualities of the Venetian female type of beauty still survived, such as the white skin and fair hair; but the whole face became transformed by that delicate sentiment, that tender ideality, which marks an epoch drawing to its close, and has all the fascination of a late autumn day.

Rosalba Carriera is the interpreter of this new type.[3] Her women still live in all the spring freshness of their beauty. Some are radiantly happy, with an overflowing happiness; the face framed in the dark mantle, the hair powdered, the brow serene, the bosom full and only partially concealed by the veil. Others, again, are pensive, with mournful and dreamy eyes, with a faint smile recalled to the lips by the memory of some past delight. Tiepolo, however, gives to his canvases a fuller expression of seductive passion, as in the St. Catherine at Vienna, and in the picture in the Gesuati at Venice, where two nuns display the amorous bent of

[1] De La Lande, *Voy.*, cit., VII, 30.

[2] Young, *Voy.*, cit., p. 94.

[3] When Frederick IV of Denmark and Norway was in Venice in 1709, he commissioned Rosalba to paint him miniature portraits of twelve of the most beautiful and most celebrated Venetian ladies. We know the names of eight only: Cornaro, Marietta Correr, Foscari, Zenobio, Maria Labia, so much admired by De Brosses, Barbarigo, Lucrezia Basadonna Mocenigo, and Isabella Pisani. Malamani, *Rosalba Carriera*, cit., p. 18.

their spirit in the expression of their countenances relieved against the dead white of their wimples.

We note too a remarkable change in the habits of Venetian women. "Les dames Vénitiennes," says a French writer in 1763, "ont secoué la contrainte où elles vivaient encore dans le dernier siècle; et les maris ont oublié leur jalousie"; and with the usual tendency to praise the past, he adds: "elles se livrent à une galanterie de nouvelle date; autant qu'elles furent retenues autrefois dans la sévérité du mariage, autant elles ont acquis de liberté."[1] Baffo too has the following verses:

No ghè più quel gran ritiro
De le done maridae,
In ancuo tute va in ziro
Note e dì per la citae.[2]

Some of these ladies were no sooner married than they found themselves thrown into a seductive society; they were ignorant of the ways of the world, proud of their fair fame and resolved to preserve it, and their blameless lives were passed in an aristocratic simplicity, a serenity which in all the changes of this life, in joy and in sorrow, found the last word in goodness. For example, the Dogaressa Pisana Corner Mocenigo was an honest wife and loving mother; and of like high character was her daughter-in-law Francesca Grimani Mocenigo. On the occasion of Francesca's marriage the patrician Tomaso Giuseppe Farsetti wrote a poem on the good old habits of the Grimani family, — the bride full of goodness and courtesy, her mother "good housewife, kindly, no chatterbox."[3] But the unassuming virtues of these noble Venetian ladies is now forgotten with their modest lives, for at no time have such domestic adornments lent themselves as a theme for poetry or history. Faustina Rezzonico, the beloved

[1] Coyer, *Voy. d'It.*, II, 20, 44. Paris, 1775.
[2] Baffo, *Racc. delle opere*, cit. (*I piaceri di Venezia*), I, 201.
[3] *Poesie per le gloriose nozze Mocenigo-Grimani*, p. vi. Venezia, 1766.

niece of Pope Clement XIII; Maria Sagredo Pisani, to whom Goldoni rightly dedicated his *Dama Prudente;* Giustina Renier Michiel, of gracious kindliness and unsullied name, — were not the only noble ladies whose virtue illuminated the Settecento. But the affection which breathed from these fine and pure spirits, in other ladies of the day assumed the form of frivolous caprice which has thrown so dark a shadow over Venetian manners at that date.[1]

De Brosses, considering that a stranger who only passes a month in a city cannot possibly learn the truth about its habits *et parleroit infailliblement tout de travers*, applied for information on the morals of Venice to the French ambassador. De Froullay, who, to judge from his own adventures, cannot have had many illusions on the subject, replied: "qu'il ne connoissoit pas plus d'une cinquantaine de femmes de qualité qui couchassent avec leurs amants. Le reste est retenu par la devotion."[2] These fifty patrician ladies, of the French ambassador's indulgent reckoning, if they did betray the marriage couch, were probably all of them condemned to live with husbands whom they detested, and so fell an easy prey to the temptations of a licentious society.

In these ill-assorted matches, where the pair could not make up their minds to a divorce, rather than weary each other they came to an agreement each to go his or her own way. The husband, who spent most of his time away from home, paying court to other men's wives and gambling at the tables, was reckoned no

[1] There was excessive license in the patriciate, while the middle class, the people, and the class of the Secretaries still retained strict habits. Lamberti, in his *Memorie*, says: "Le loro donne (that is, of the Secretaries) che comunemente non vivevano che fra di esse, e con le dame della più antica e distinta nobiltà, erano più altere delle patrizie, meno affabili, più affettate e portavano un qualche puzzo d'incompetente nobiltà patrizia. Poche di esse menavano una vita galante, ed anzi rimarcavasi in esse generalmente commendabile costumatezza."

[2] De Brosses, *Lettre XIV.*

more than a piece of furniture or a gown,[1] and disappears in the crowd of *cicisbei*, parasites, poetasters, abbés, hairdressers, and dancing-masters who frequented his wife's saloons. It was much if he even demanded respect in public; and the story of the husband who on his return home found his wife in her lover's arms and merely exclaimed, "How imprudent of you! Why didn't you lock the door? Suppose a servant had come in?" may not be wholly malicious gossip.

The wife took her liberty in a kind of indolent bliss. She woke late, drank her chocolate in bed talking with her *cavaliere servente*, then rose, and the hairdresser was admitted. Some ladies preferred him to their *cavalieri*,[2] while others, satisfied with neither, sought the excitement of more vigorous loves in mysterious assignations, or others again out of unctuous and hypocritical scruples would admit an abbé to their favours. By the time the lady had done of the toilet-table and had got dressed with the help of her *cicisbeo*,[3] but little remained before the dinner hour, and that was bestowed on the pet dog.[4] After dinner two more hours were

[1] A wife in one of Goldoni's plays exclaims: "Vi è paragone fra la roba e il marito? Che vorreste ch'io facessi senza la carrozza, senza gli staffieri, senza il mio trattamento da dama? Ah, che in pensarvi mi sento venire i sudori freddi!" *Il Cavaliere e la Dama*, Act III, sc. viii.

[2] "Alcune di codeste signore," says a barber in one of Albergati's Comedies, "non isdegnano di far all' amore con noi, ed hanno il comodo di vederci ogni giorno senza che il mondo dica, poichè è pronto il pretesto d'essere da noi acconciate." Hairdressers were chosen as secretaries and go-betweens, and received handsome rewards and powerful protection. Albergati, *Il saggio amico*, Act II, sc. ii. Casanova had as companion in prison, a barber of Vicenza, who had seduced the daughter of a great noble who sent him to the *Piombi*. Casanova, *Mém.*, cit., III, 216.

[3] A *cicisbeo* of Goldoni makes this confession: "Questa è una cosa che si fa quasi comunemente e forse non passa giorno ch'io non abbia l'onore di allacciar qualche busto." *La Dama Prudente*, Act II, sc. xi.

[4] The *cagnetta* or *cagnolino* plays a large part in the history of Venetian aristocratic life. Almost every number of Gozzi's *Gazzetta Veneta* contains rewards offered for lost dogs. Goldoni wrote a poem on the accomplishments of *Babiole, vezzosissima cagnolina barbina di sua Ecc. la sign. mad. la Co. di Baschj, ambasciatrice di Francia in Ven.* Goldoni, *Compon. div.*, cit., I, 86.

LADY with her *Cicisbeo* and her Hairdresser — from an engraving by Giuseppe Flipart

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passed before the glass to complete her toilet and in studying every movement of her figure, her fan, her mouth, and her eyes.[1] Then she would go out of doors, and as the fashion of wearing high pattens had now ceased, she found herself unimpeded in her movements[2] and took part in promenades, visits, parties, dances, gaming, and the theatres.[3] More pleasing were the hours the fair ones dedicated to their admirers; then they sat at the spinet and sang,[4] or they reclined on the soft cushions of their divans. Their vocabulary was enriched with French phrases, such as *mon aimable enfant, moitié de moi même*[5]; the emotion at most amounted to caprice or fancy, never to true passion. They were vapourish and nervous; talked much of their languors and their sufferings, more fanciful than real; they were upset by the merest trifle and swooned or went into studied hysterics, but they were never shaken by genuine passion nor torn by jealousy. Venetian gallantry was never the expression of animal appetite, but rather of a light, joyous, gay sentiment which blossomed in sugared madrigals and was accompanied

[1] Costantini, *Lett.*, cit., III, 65, 66.

[2] On the use of the slipper there is a codex in the Marciana (Cl. VII, n. cccciv); it contains some satiric lines on the painful accident which happened to the noble Morosini of SS. Giovanni e Paolo. He was in attendance on the noble lady Quirini of San Severo; she was wearing slippers and tripped, and he, trying to hold her up, himself *rolled down stairs and was all broken.*

Cavalieri serventi
Quando servì ste done, atenti, atenti
Vardè che no le gabia le mulete,
Perchè le ve farà de le bassete
Tocando al Cavalier de sostentar
La dona, che no pol ben caminar
Par causa de le mode maledete!

[3] [Seriman], *Viaggi di Enr. Wanton*, cit., I, 147.

[4] "Il n'y a point de jolie dame, qui en recevant la visite d'un jeune *cavalier*, après avoir étalé ses grâces ne passe à son clavessin, où elle chante un petit air pour achever de se rendre aimable." [Goudar], *Remarques sur la mus.*, etc., cit., p. 19.

[5] Piazza, *I Zingani*, cit., Chap. IX.

by languishing looks. The Abbé Chiari says: "By frequently making love one acquires a kind of habit of gallantry which leaves no strong impression. . . . The more one makes love, the more one learns to love — to such an extent that one may boldly affirm nowadays that love is no longer a passion but a habit."[1]

The little casinos, described by Casanova in exaggerated terms as temples of voluptuous lasciviousness, were furnished with luxury of soft couches, baths, and suggestive pictures,[2] and offered a safe asylum for assignations. Not even servants were present at the little suppers, and the dishes were served by means of a turn-table let into the wall.[3] The stories of the excessive luxury and the secret orgies of the Venetian casinos are, however, fantastic exaggerations, though it is certain that the Inquisitors closed, one after another, the casino on the Giudecca, near the riding-school,[4] where Caterina Sagredo Barbarigo kept horses and where she used to go in company[5]; the casino at the Ponte dei Ferali, belonging to Maria Sagredo Pisani,[6] and that of Cecilia Priuli Valmarana in the Corte del Spiron,[7] holding that "loose conduct, reprehensible in any woman, is intolerable in a patrician lady, who is bound, even in her outward acts, to prove her character for modesty and wisdom."[8] The decrees follow one another, but the patrician ladies did not cease to laugh and chatter and make love in their casinos.

It is curious to find the Inquisitors intervening in conjugal questions, punishing unfaithful wives, rebuking complacent husbands, recalling families to the paths

[1] Chiari, *Commedie da camera*, Tom. II. Venezia, 1771.
[2] Casanova, *Mém.*, cit., III, 14.
[3] *Cenni stor. e leggi circa il libertinaggio in Ven.*, cit. p. 68.
[4] Close to the Ponte della Croce; closed in 1767.
[5] Arch di Stato, Inq. di Stato, *Annotazioni*, Bª 534, fo 12 (April 17, 1747).
[6] Ibid., Bª 534, fol. 122 (November 11, 1751).
[7] Ibid., Bª 535, fol. 41 (July 17, 1756).
[8] Ibid., Bª 538, fol. 118.

of virtue. For instance, Domenico Michiel was summoned before the Tribunal and severely reproved for his "stupidity as regards his wife," who was a lady of the Da Lezze family.[1] In the case of wives the magistrates did not confine themselves to reproofs; a contemporary writes that "the wife of Signor Gerolamo Dolfin at Malcanton was confined to her house by order of the Supreme Tribunal, and forbidden to see any one but her nearest relations, because for a long time past she had been upsetting the family harmony and had been living with her lover Donà in a scandalous fashion."[2] Maddaluzza, wife of Carlo Gradenigo, Podestà of Verona, was also confined to her house "on account of her personal conduct"; but the punishment was of little use, and after a few years we find the gay lady at Udine, in the midst of banquets, *fêtes*, and riotous living, along with a certain Colonel d'Arnch, her lover. On the death of her husband she married another Gradenigo, named Bortolo, ambassador at Constantinople; but having disobeyed the orders of the Inquisitors, who had forbidden the ambassador to take to the shores of the Bosphorus a wife "so flighty, violent, and lacking in prudence," she was sent for three months to Este.[3] Another ambassador, Sebastiano Foscarini, on the point of leaving for Vienna, expressed his alarm at the embarrassments that would ensue if his wife followed him on his embassy, and the Tribunal ordered the lady to remain in Venice.[4] Still graver scandals sometimes occupied the court; for instance, in 1731 a sentence of outlawry was passed on Count Francesco Tassis, of Bergamo, who had fled to Mantua with the young patrician Giustiniana Gussoni. We find other examples of severity on the part of the Tribunal, which,

[1] Arch. di Stato, Inq. di Stato, *Annotazioni*, B^a 536, fol. 127.
[2] Ballarini, *Lett.*, cit. Arch. di Stato, Inq. di Stato (January 2, 1780).
[3] Arch. di Stato, Inq. di Stato, *Annot.*, B^a 534, fol. 246; B^a 537, foll. 42 and 79; B^a 538, foll. 87, 150, 170, 174.
[4] Ibid., B^a 539, fol. 101.

however, were powerless to make the ladies change their ways. Some of them quite openly gave themselves over to their caprices, and cared nothing for the scandal provided they could get their desire; others knew how to conceal their loose conduct under a veil of modesty and ladylike manners.

At the opening of the Settecento we come across a charming personality, with none of the stiffness and formality which marked the preceding century. Lucrezia Basadonna, wife of the Procurator of San Marco, Girolamo Mocenigo, appears in great beauty on the canvas of Rosalba Carriera,[1] but the records of the period do not paint her as very strait-laced, while she was undoubtedly addicted to gambling. She was known as "the Mocenigo of the pearls" on account of a ring and two pendents of splendid pearls, which passed as heirlooms to the ladies of the Mocenigo family. She had a large train of admirers, including foreigners like the Prince of Anspach, and Venetians like Marco Bembo, Alessandro Molin, Bertucci Valier, Antonio Mocenigo, and the Brescian satirist, Bartolomeo Dotti.[2] At that date, about 1702, Dotti was nearly sixty years old, and can hardly have been an exigent lover, but such was the beauty and grace of Lucrezia that he declared that it was "impossible to serve her and not love her." In one of his sonnets Dotti describes her masked as a friar, and, alluding to the infidelity of an Englishman with whom the Mocenigo had fallen in love, he thus addresses her:

[1] Of Lucrezia's beauty we have an anecdote left us by Del Teglia (*Lett. dei Res.*, cit., file 3048, fol. 693). In January, 1698, the Queen Dowager of Poland came to Venice, and went to visit the Church of the Nuns of San Lorenzo. "Fra molte dame," says Del Teglia, "che curiosamente cercarono vedere Sua Maestà, la Procuratessa Mocenigo, che fra le belle, pretende godere il primato, si pose in sito di vedere la Regina senz' esser vista, in habito di privata e coperta dal *taffettà* (zendado); avvisata di ciò la M. S. nel passare s'accostò, e levandole lei stessa il zendale, si lasciò vedere e vidde, dicendo non haver visto la più bella Dama di lei."

[2] Levi, Erc., *Un poeta satir.*, cit. (*Nuovo Arch. Ven.*, XII, 30 et seq.).

PORTRAIT of Lucrezia Basadonna Mocenigo (La Mocenigo dalle Perle), by Rosalba Carriera. (Gallery of Dresden)

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E se fia mai che missionario andiate
a predicar in questa parte o in quella,
vedransi a' vostri piè l'Indie inclinate
e fida ritornar l'Anglia rubella.

The blond patrician beauty, Angela Tiepolo, the mistress of Da Ponte, was attractive, impish, petulant, and unfaithful in character; "tiny, delicate, gentle; white as the snow, with soft and languishing eyes and two charming dimples on her cheeks fresh as roses. She could not boast much mental culture, but she was gifted by such charm of manner and such witty conversation that she not only won her way into all hearts but captivated every one."[1]

Cecilia Zeno Tron, sister-in-law of the Procuratessa Caterina Tron, must have been mistress of all the arts of attraction if Parini, already in his fifty-sixth year and broken by the events of his life, could still acknowledge that he was in danger of offering to the world the spectacle of a "grey-beard suffering the pains of youth," all for the sake of this lady "*d'almo aspetto divino.*" Thinking of her slim and graceful form, her snowy bosom but half concealed beneath the clinging veil, the fair white hand, the poet's fancy flies away

Con soave desio
Intorno all' onde adriache.

Tommaséo calls her "too, too famous," and reproaches her for having prolonged a shameless old age almost down to his day.[2] Her light-hearted, insouciant spirit kept her ever gay and ignorant of all that is bitter and harsh in life; but we are not too lenient when we affirm that with all her incurable frivolity she possessed a natural kindness of heart which brought aid to many a poor soul. She cared little to preserve appearances, and when, on the occasion of a great spectacle in the

[1] Da Ponte, *Mem.*, cit., Vol. I, Part I, p. 31. Loehner, *Lorenzo Da Ponte* (in the *Wiener Zeitung*, January 29, 31, 1882).
[2] Tommaséo, *St. civ. nella lett.*, p. 252. Torino, Loescher, 1872.

theatre of San Benedetto, she sold her box, the following epigram was on every one's lips:

Brava la Trona
La vende el palco
Più caro della . . .

to which she replied "You 're quite right, for sometimes I make a present of the latter."[1] Even in her old age she never lost her gaiety, and if she tried to cheat the mordant tooth of time by the use of cosmetics she never sought to cheat her admirers. She was the first to laugh over the secrets of her toilet table. One day, after having carefully covered her wrinkles under a coating of the finest rouge, which reached her from France in pots that cost a ransom, she went down to her gondola; the gondolier, with the usual impudence of the people, said, "What a beautiful complexion your Excellency has this morning!" and she instantly replied, "I know that, you jackanapes, but it has cost me dear!"

A savage epigram on Cecilia and other patrician ladies is still current among the people:

Lucieta la bela
La sorda so sorela
La Trona, la Benzona
E qualche altra . . .

We leave the last rhyme in the pen. *Lucieta* was Lucia, daughter of the druggist Fantinati at the Carmini, wife of the patrician Niccolò Foscarini; *so sorela* was another daughter of Fantinati, married to Count Zanetti; *la Trona* was Cecilia Zeno Tron; *la Benzona* was the blond Marina, daughter of Pietro Antonio Quirini. She was born at Corfù, and when she was twenty she was married to Pietro Benzon and became the mother of Vittore, the charming poet of the *Nella*. In the gay life of Venice she gave free rein to her caprices with that indifference

[1] Ballarini, *Lett.* cit.

PORTRAIT of Maria Quirini Benzon (La Biondina in Gondoleta), by Pietro Longhi.. (Venice, in the Collection of Signora Padovan)

which is frequently the philosophy of a certain type of woman. But the poisonous breath of this frivolous life, with its atmosphere of curiosity, appetites, envy, and calumny, did not wither her heart, which was always ready to do a kindness. Hers was not that regular beauty which, like pure water, is tasteless; nor had she the majestic presence of her mother, Matilde da Ponte, painted by Longhi in 1771. Marina's features, as represented by Longhi, were expressive rather than perfect. Her complexion was remarkably white, very gently coloured, the forehead low, the nose aquiline, the eyebrows arched, abundant hair very soft, like silk and gold. A passionate expression breathes from the eyes and the smiling mouth, and her sylph-like form exhaled such a perfume of freshness as to create about her an atmosphere of fervid vitality. She was greedy of love and of pleasure, but always sincere, without pride, without pretensions; free in speech, in habits, in tastes, in dress. Venice, the Grand Canal, the gondola, all made an enchanted setting for her gentle amours, and in the quiet of the Venetian night you may still hear the love song written by Lamberti under the inspiration of Cecilia and set to music by Gian Simone Mayr:

La biondina in gondoleta
L'altra sera go menà,
Dal piaxer la povereta
La s'à in bota indormenzà.

The Abbé de Bernis, French Ambassador at Venice from 1752 to 1755, speaks of a lady of the Barbarigo family of a very pretty wit. Before leaving Venice De Bernis met the fair patrician, who promised him her friendship, declaring that she would ever remain faithful to him; nor can such a promise give rise to malignant interpretations, for De Bernis assures us he met her only twice.[1] In all probability she was a member of the

[1] Bernis, *Mém.*, cit., p. 184.

Sagredo family; her name was Caterina,[1] and she was the mother of Contarina Barbarigo, who so charmed the Emperor Joseph II that at a ball in the Tron palace he stood for five hours talking to the witty lady. So strong was the impression that he frequently spoke of Contarina to his friends in later years; among others he mentioned her to Maria Teodorovna, Grand Duchess of Russia, who, when she came to Venice in 1782, at once asked to see the Contarina. She, however, had just left for Naples; but she was overtaken at Verona and brought back to Venice. Ballarini maliciously adds that the other ladies were not much pleased at this mark of preference. On leaving Venice the Grand Duchess embraced Contarina and invited her to St. Petersburg; and this again gave umbrage to her rivals.[2] Witty without venom, affectionate yet modest, still Contarina was characterized by the unstable and fantastic temperament of her day.[3] She married Marino Zorzi in 1765, but after a short time obtained an annulment *per inabilità del marito*.

[1] Caterina Dolfin, in 1767, dedicated her sonnets on the death of her father to Caterina Sagredo Barbarigo, whom she praises: "L'umanità, la cortesia, la prudenza, sono vostre virtù famigliari. Voi siete grande, ma non superba; nè sdegnate d'amare, ed accarezzar la virtù sotto qualunque spoglia vi si presenti. Siete Donna, ma virtuosamente educata; che fa disprezzare tutti que' pregiudizii che disonorano il nostro sesso. La nobiltà e umanità del vostro carattere non vi permette di rimproverare col solo aspetto, a chi vi si presenta, la distanza, che tra il suo grado, e il vostro potè frappor la Fortuna." But the order of the Inquisitors which closed the casino owned by Caterina Sagredo Barbarigo on the Giudecca is not quite in consonance with this eulogy. The Cod. Gradenigo N. 72, at the Museo Civico, entitled *Donne Veneziane* (fol. 174), says that Caterina was an indefatigable traveller who had journeyed all over Italy at no small cost.

[2] Ballarini, *Lett.*, cit., January, 1782.

[3] Some of the ideas of these patrician ladies were singular enough. In the carnival of 1756 Caterina Bonlini wanted to dance on the rope in public. Cod. 155 of the Gradenigo MSS. at the Museo Civico, entitled *Funzioni Publiche*, tells us of an absurd idea of Contarina Barbarigo Zorzi and four other ladies who determined to give a dinner of four courses made by themselves. They called in the assistance of the lay sisters of a convent. They were to have gone through the piazza in their cooks' clothes, but, some of them being enceinte, they had to put it off.

The true daughter of Venice and of this century was Caterina Dolfin, who is frequently confounded with her sister-in-law, Cecilia Zeno Tron.[1] She was married first to Marc' Antonio Tiepolo,[2] but the union was not happy and was dissolved. In 1772 she married Andrea Tron, named Procurator of San Marco a few months later. He was already on the threshold of old age, but he offered to the lady who took his name a splendid position, owing to his rank, his wealth, and his authority in the State, which was so vast as to win him the name of "the Master." His bride was in the full flower of her thirty-six years and of remarkable beauty. The Abbé Barbaro, one of her admirers, sang the praises of her golden hair, her smooth forehead, her blue eye, her *boca de viole*, her full bosom white as snow, her little hands and feet. Even that old bear Carlo Gozzi, in the preface to his *Marfisa bizzarra*, lauds "the lilies and roses of her complexion." For many years she ruled Venetian society by her beauty and her wit, surrounded by flatterers and calumniators, creating such a stir about herself that some have even supposed that she ruined her husband's chances of election to the dukedom.[3] But Caterina won high praise, as well, for her kindness and good-heartedness. Her flightiness did not prevent her from recognising and esteeming genius and intellect, nor did it debar her from assisting

[1] Carducci falls into this error in his *Il Parini Minore*, p. 306. Bologna, 1903.

[2] She was born in the parish of Santa Maria del Carmelo on May 8, 1736, of Giovanni Antonio Dolfin and Donata Salomon. Castelnuovo, *Una dama Veneziana del secolo XVIII* (in the *Nuova Antologia*, June 15, 1882).

[3] Paolo Renier was chosen in place of Tron, but we cannot attribute this to his wife's conduct, but rather to Renier's bribes. Renier's wife was a *ballerina*, which must have scandalised Venetian society. The well-known and ferocious epigram on Tron does not lay the blame for his failure on his wife:

> Thronus Eques, sapiens, nunc Procurator,
> At illo si diadema negat Patria, sponsa dabit,

alluding to the ducal *corno*.

with advice and with money Gaspare Gozzi, whom she styled "her father." The unlucky poet was ill at Padua in 1777, and in an access of fever flung himself from the window. Caterina lavished on him all possible care, and he wrote to her:

Tu sola agli occhi miei fulgida aurora
Mi scampi da sentieri aspri e fallaci
E prolunghi i miei giorni e la speranza.

The sincere esteem of honest Gaspare Gozzi is in striking contrast with the atrocious insults of Pier Antonio Gratarol, who attributed to her a large part of his misfortunes and inveighed against her as a "procuress," a "patrician prostitute" "who purchases her influence" and "threatens, persecutes, protects, and dispenses favours by virtue of the decrees of the Senate."[1] Making all allowance for the baseness of the calumny, we cannot deny that both she and other patrician ladies began at this time to meddle in public affairs or, at the least, to discuss them.[2]

But as a matter of fact not even at this epoch did Venetian women exercise any strong influence on politics[3]; it amounted, at most, to securing some little revenge on an enemy or some threat to frighten him. For example, the wife of Andrea Cappello, Rector of Brescia, was able to induce the Avogadore Angelo Quirini to expel from Venice a dressmaker who had

[1] Gratarol, *Narraz. Apologetica*, cit., Chap. XL.
[2] The Abbé Barbaro has a poem on women politicians:

Le parla de politica
Al casin, al cafè,
Sul leto e sul bidé;
Le fa novi sistemi,
Le xe legislatrici,
Le giusta la Republica . . .
Alfin ste nostre bele
Xe deventae in ancuo
Gran Machiavele.

[3] Curti, *Mem. stor. pol.*, cit., I, 236.

ventured to exchange words with the quick-tempered patrician [1]; but her charms were not sufficient to hinder the course of justice, and the Inquisitors recalled the dressmaker and gave her leave to come and go freely as she pleased.[2]

Women had more influence in dispensing favours and securing posts. Maria Quirini, wife of the Cavaliere Pietro Correr, Ambassador at Vienna in 1756, wrote to her husband that she had strained every effort to get him the embassy at Constantinople. She did not succeed, but she advised her husband to accept the situation and not to give up diplomacy; writing to him, she says: "You know better than I do how easy it is in this country to damage one's reputation." Meantime she did not abandon her efforts, which were crowned with success in 1762.[3]

In short, the women in Venice, unlike those of other countries, did not take much interest in politics; they ruled through beauty, their wits, and sometimes their culture. For if some of these ladies shamefully neglected their minds,[4] content with their native *brio* and

[1] Arch. di Stato, Inq. di Stato, *Disp. Rett. Brescia*, B^a 239 (1761).

[2] Ibid., *Annotaz.*, B^a 536, p. 55.

[3] Arch. priv. Correr. Cod. C. reserv.

[4] In some patrician ladies, though in very few, the profoundest ignorance was coupled with a looseness of habits which has induced hostile observers to condemn, as equally vicious, the whole class. We have come across examples of this shameful ignorance when studying the correspondence of the Settecento; and by way of example we reproduce the following, only suppressing names:

"Caro il mio Checo,

"Vi asicuro che ò provato grandis.mo piacere nel sentir delle vostre Care nove. io mi trovo in otima salute come spero il simele di voi Caro il mio bene, mio marito parla sempre di voi in bene e à parlato di voi con vostro Fratello perchè vostro fratello aveva detto che avevate un poco dincomodo e mio marito li dispiace molto. ma vi prego di scriverli qualche volta. tutti li divertimenti sono a padova per la famosa opera, io non ò nesuno ma ve ne molti innamorati è ve li volio contar . . . Agostino Mosenigo, il Cavalier suo fratello, Ferigo Cavali, Momolo Mosenigo, Zaneto Morosini, Giusto Contarini, Vitor Mosto, Momolo Giustinian, il fratello della favorita del re di francia e molti altri foresti. Ma Caro il mio bene io non ci penso di nesuno altro che te anima mia. ve Alessandro Griti che mi

assisted by the charm of the dialect, there were many who had leanings towards culture, learning, and taste. At Venice every class offers us examples of this blossoming of culture among women. Rosalba Carriera was a true ornament of her sex, though the literary ladies are less attractive. Luisa Bergalli, for instance, known in Arcady as Irminda Partenide, a tedious versifier, wife of Gaspare Gozzi, instead of attending to her children and her house, set herself to translate Madame du Boccage's "Amazons," sitting wrapped up in a thick cloak with her husband's periwig on her head for warmth. A wearisome woman, as Tommaséo calls her; maybe poor Gaspare had her in his mind when he exclaims with a melancholy smile, more pathetic than tears, "My children, don't, whatever you do, write verses; you will lose both health and common sense."[1] The passion for letters turned the heads of women of all classes; the poetess dressmaker, Elisabetta Caminér, according to Carlo Gozzi, injured her brains and her style by translations of the French *larmoyante* drama; and Aglaia Anassalide, the gardener poetess, forgot her humble birth in her dreams of gods and demigods and fays and paladins.

About the middle of the century there came into vogue a new affectation of effusive romanticism, of tearful and sentimental pathos borrowed from the French. The favourite romance writers were Richardson and Rousseau, and many thought they recognised their own souls in those of Pamela and Héloïse. Among the Italians Chiari was in great repute with the ladies who had taken to *belles lettres*, essays, criticism, and philosophy.[2]

fa la corte è quel vostro parente Ferigo Venier e molti altri ma non fano nulla siati sicuro che senpre vi amero è non mi scordero mai di chi mi ama da seno. presto vado incampagna con mio marito. adio mio bene adio cor mio voliatemi bene. Vostra afl.ma Amica Cattina."

[1] Tommaséo, *St. civ. nella lett.*, cit., p. 265.

[2] Marchesi, *Romanzieri e romanzi it. del Settecento*, cit., II. Goldoni in his *Mémoires* (cit. II, 24) says: "Les femmes, qui, pour lors à Venise ne

Some of the great ladies, however, like the Dogaressa Pisana Corner Mocenigo, cultivated letters without this languid sentimentality. Besides astronomy, she took pleasure also in natural history and anatomy, and received the compliments of the great physician Santorini and of the immortal Giambattista Morgani.[1] We may mention also Cecilia Grimani Corner, learned in letters and science[2]; Maria Lippomano, who cultivated painting and was wife of Quirini, last Venetian Ambassador in Paris; Giustina Renier Michiel, and Isabella Teotochi Albrizzi, a lady with a lively pen. Cornelia Barbaro Gritti, the immortal *Aurisbe* of Frugoni, was born of a family famed in song; her father wrote verses in dialect, and bestowed on Cornelia and her brother Angelo Maria Barbaro their mastery over the vernacular; she had a son, Francesco Gritti,[3] also a writer. But the fair lady was better known for her gallantries than for her literary compositions.

Caterina Dolfin Tron, known in Arcady as Dorina Nonacrina, was successful as a poetess, but her private correspondence is still more engaging and shows a great delicacy of mind. Her letters are preserved in the Museo Civico of Venice,[4] and the private archives of the Sola-Busca-Serbelloni at Milan.[5] As a writer she cannot compare with Mlle. Lespinasse, the friend of

lisoient pas beaucoup, prirent du goût pour cette lecture (the *Spectator*) et commençoient à devenir philosophes: j'étois enchanté de voir mes chères compatriotes admettre l'instruction et la critique à leur toilettes."

[1] Thomas, *Sul caratt., sui cost. e lo spirito femm.*, trans. Venezia, 1773.

[2] De La Lande, *Voy.*, cit., VII, 65.

[3] Ortolani, Gius., *Della vita e dell' arte di C. Goldoni*, cit., pp. 94, 95.

[4] These letters were written to Andrea Tron in 1772 and 1773, before and after the marriage. A few passages have been published by Castelnuovo in his work *Una dama veneziana*.

[5] There are one hundred and two letters written between 1783 and 1788. The Duke Serbelloni was born in 1744 at Milan. He was brought up by Parini, and in 1771 married Teresa di Castelbarco, daughter of the Marquis Cesare Ercole. At the close of the century he was member of the Cisalpine Directorate and ambassador in Paris. He died in 1802, leaving a daughter married to Count Busca.

D'Alembert and Condorcet, or with the Marquise du Deffand, the correspondent of Voltaire and Horace Walpole, or with the Duchesse de Choiseul, wife of the minister of Louis XV; and yet Caterina in her intimate correspondence with Duke Gian Galeazzo Serbelloni, writing out of her own heart and not paying too much attention to grammar and orthography, has always something fresh and original to say. After paying a visit to Serbelloni in June, 1783, at Gorla in the Milanese, where she met the Istrian economist Gian Rinaldo Carli and other friends, Caterina writes thus to her husband describing the master of the house, who was not yet forty: "The owner is one of those rare beings which nature produces in order to show how much virtue she can pour into her works when she chooses; if you had had children, such an one and such alone would have been worthy of you."

It would seem, however, that a very different emotion from the maternal one stirred the breast of the great lady who, forgetting her forty-six years, wrote on July 3, 1783, to Serbelloni with all the grace and playfulness of youth. "You treat me," she says, "with too much ceremony, and quite upset my ideal picture of you; from my friends I desire friendship — I do not want compliments; you are quite bald and cold in your phrases"; and a few days later (July 19), when reproving her friend for his silence, she says: "Friendship, like love, has its anxieties and quarrels; and as in my youth I was always rather thin-skinned and exigent in love-making, so I am now in this matter of friendship." She pours out the wealth of her affection in terms of strong emotion, and her recitation of events is interspersed with remarks on men and things which show great sincerity and clearness of judgment.

Caterina, like most women of the Settecento, was subject to that morbid sentimentality which came from France, and devotes part of her correspondence to the

description of her sufferings, perhaps with a view to creating an interest, but her naturally robust nature eventually gains the upper hand. "My heart is on my lips," she says, and adds, "as a rule I do not think much of my own sex, and I cautiously endeavour to strike out an individual line, so as to avoid resembling the general run of women." Her feeling of patriotism was lively, and to Serbelloni, a subject of the Emperor, she writes: "You gentlemen who are subjects of great sovereigns miss one essential emotion, that of patriotism; it is all one to you who rules; we Republicans think otherwise, for we both rule and obey at one and the same time." She breaks out in these vigorous and manly phrases: "I hear on all sides praise of the choice of his Imperial Majesty as Archbishop of Milan, and I laugh at the difficulties about the Pope; we are not in the ages when the popes ruled the emperors; you will see that the Curia will yield to Cæsar, and indeed to all who, strong in their own rights, know how to maintain them resolutely" (September 27, 1783); "In this year, 1784, the armies of his Imperial Majesty are more powerful than indulgences" (April 24, 1784). This was the same lady who in 1772, when, on the advice of Andrea Tron, her husband, the Republic proceeded to suppress certain monasteries, wrote in jubilation: "Twenty-six closed? what a joy!" Caterina's letters to Serbelloni follow in quick succession, and it is clear that her friendship was on the increase. The fair tormentor, who had tortured so many admirers, felt for her distant friend a sort of humble and submissive adoration. Time must already have wrought its changes on her if, in 1772, when she was about to marry Tron, she could write the melancholy phrase, "It is all over." But she quickly recovers and chases the thought; she writes to her future husband: "All over! . . . not a bit of it; rouged, combed, and with my ready wit I'll undertake to rout all the girls." But ten years later she has to admit the

inevitable lapse of time, and yet she cannot refrain from writing to Serbelloni words which reveal her inner feelings: "You are the man my youthful fancy conjured up to make him arbiter of all my emotions and to adore with all my soul, and cold reason never has been able to render my happiness bitter by its reproaches. In virtuous souls when passion is spent there comes the most tender and cordial affection, which lasts as long as life. I know that a heart of forty-six years is but a sorry gift; and even if a ready wit and some traces of beauty should render it attractive for the moment, a short time will serve to dispel the illusion, and nothing will remain but the weariness of the possessor and the shame of the giver" (August 2, 1783).

The flower of youth was passed, and Serbelloni, after a brief caprice, though flattered by and grateful for the homage of so great a lady, turned to the fresher attractions of younger years. It would seem that he replied formally and coldly to the sentimental exaltation of Caterina, or left her letters too long unanswered and roused in her indignant reproach. Did she deserve such treatment? Were all charms fled? If so, how was it that, when Venice was *en fête* for Gustavus III of Sweden, she had shone in society, surrounded by a court of adorers? Perhaps these latest triumphs roused her pride and stirred her noble temper, prone to sudden tenderness and sudden wrath. On September 25, 1784, she wrote to Serbelloni, half in banter, half in anger: "My words are true, and they express my annoyance; yes, I mean to declare war on you, but I hope for a speedy peace." Two years passed, and if Serbelloni remained untouched by the sighs of the patrician lady, she had neither the courage nor the philosophy to retire, and a fierce contest between her passion and her pride continued in her breast. On September 1, 1786, she wrote the following letter, which breathes a spirit of dignified reserve: "I need not recall to you the pleasure

with which I welcomed your friendship, and whatever may have been the sentiments with which you honoured me, I know I have no cause to blush. I held that you were not like the ordinary run of men, and I dreamed that our friendship was to be eternal, for it was based upon esteem. I am not like the majority of women, and I have a heart that feels and knows the sacred laws of friendship. I know the passions and I know how to pardon what they entail. All I ask is that an honest man should treat me like an honest man. I may mention that all the most respectable people in Venice talk to me of you as though our friendship were fraternal, virtuous, and indissoluble, and I know not how to mask a change so little to our credit; I don't mean to our inferiors and our friends, who will, of course, be discreet. You and I are in the highest rank; we cannot follow the ordinary path; we are bound to respect each other and to be friends, for the qualities which demand this esteem and friendship exist and always will exist. If you think you have cause to complain of me, tell me in all friendliness, and I, in the knowledge of my own probity, will find the way to clear your mind. Read my letter carefully; it is inspired by friendship, honour, reason, and genuine esteem; answer me as you ought."

Dignity conquers feeling, and on September 16 of the same year she writes: "At last I have a letter from you. Not to answer a letter is the same as not answering a friend's question. You have never understood me; well, understand me now, it is high time. I am a woman, but brought up with all a gentleman's sense of honour. I know the human heart and can sympathize with its weaknesses. I feel and know the sacred laws of friendship. As for love I take it at its due value. To be deserted would hurt but not anger me. I cannot submit to neglect; my birth, my nature, and my spirit forbid it. If your new engagements do not forbid

you to be my good friend, you, who love the uncommon, will find in me a true and loyal friend in woman's guise." A letter of July 14, 1787, shows us all the agony of her spirit: "I believe you are bored to death with my attachment, but as I am wont to dismiss personally those who no longer please me, I now look for the like courtesy from you, and then I will cease to write and cease to be your friend." The sad thoughts which belong to old age break out in perfect sincerity of expression in the confidence of this friendly dialogue and the security of private correspondence.

Cecilia Tron, Caterina's sister-in-law, is no less frank, though not quite so refined and certainly less literary. The lady whom Parini admired so intensely knew how to fascinate the austerest by her lively wit. On October 7, 1786, she wrote to a grave professor, Mattia Butturini,[1] one of her most faithful friends, as follows: "Dearest and most asinine Butturini — In truth I know not how to express my anger at your neglect. You may find as many excuses as you like, they won't suffice to clear you. To-morrow I set out for Crema. If you care to waste a sheet of paper on a pack of lies, do so, and send the letter to me *poste restante* Crema. My husband greets you, along with Count Porto. Adieu, faithless soul. Adieu. *Yours? never* Cecilia Tron."

No less frankly sincere is Marina Benzon, who in her love affairs mingled a touch of the religious sentiment with the more material side. She writes thus to the Marchese Rangoni, the man she was, after all, most deeply attached to: "Ah, poor Marina, who has nothing to offer her Beppo save a heart aflame with love and desire to make him happy! I pray you believe that I desire to prove the intensity of my love by some great sacrifice,

[1] Mattia Butturini, of Salò, lawyer and Greek scholar, after spending twenty-five years in Venice, became Professor of Greek at Pavia, where he died in 1817. His letters and papers are preserved in the Athenæum of Salò.

but all I can do is to send you my sighs. . . . What joy awaits me in the future; ever side by side with my Beppo. Dear God, your gracious ways are ever imprinted on my heart. Traitor! What have you done with me? Who ever felt an equal flame? But how natural! Who can equal you, my sweet heart? Who is mistress of a man worthy to be matched with you? God has given me this boon, — God, and the Madonna, whom I adore hourly."

The following letters unearthed in a private family archive[1] were addressed to a lady by her admirers. Written in a crabbed hand on rough paper, consumed and faded with time, yet breathing a perfume and grace, and whispering in our ear confidences and memories evoking the fair form of Caterina Corner, who, after the dissolution of her marriage with Montecuccoli, became the loving friend of Pietro Pesaro. She lends her ear to the flattery of her admirers, whose letters reflect the flighty and feather-brained courtship of that epoch. Caterina, beautiful, intelligent, and lively, must have been possessed of great attractions for these sensitive hearts that took fire so readily. Sometimes the love was not returned, and the affair ends in respectful friendship thus expressed: "If my esteem and reverence are not displeasing to you, they are yours, and I shall deem myself honoured if I am allowed to see you now and then. On such conditions I feel that I can approach you with more confidence and laugh more easily. Otherwise I must become a man in misfortune, a character to hate; and such you would not render me. I will accept with pleasure your proffered friendship, and will do all I can to deserve it." Another adorer with difficulty conceals his jealousy under the cloak of ceremonious respect: "I do not know if it interests you to learn that all my fears and suspicions have taken force since yesterday. I am well aware that it requires

[1] Arch. Priv. Widmann-Rezzonico.

far less wit than you possess to justify your conduct towards me; but my need is not to be persuaded nor convinced; it is not my reason, which, as far as you are concerned, is in perfect accord with my affection, nay, is rather slave to it, that requires to be reassured." The unhappy rather than platonic lover concludes thus: "Let my final sentence issue then from you; it will either open the door to an initial and essential ray of hope which will encourage me to plan, evolve, and effectuate my projects, or it will condemn me to drown myself in a slough of despair." Another letter written from the country runs thus: "Neither the woods nor the chase avail to banish for a moment from my mind the thought of my future bliss, which, heaven grant, you may be pleased to concede me, for you alone can." Another loses his self-control and, announcing his arrival in Venice, exclaims: "Everything makes me hope to be in Venice by Tuesday evening. Where will my gondola take me? My first house will be the house where my heart is lodged. At this moment all aflame with passion I embrace you and kiss your knees, and I dream — ah! what bliss!"

On June 15, 1782, the patrician Niccolò Venier, when quitting Venice, writes to Caterina: "It matters not to me to leave Venice, but, by God, to be severed from you — that depresses me." At that time Caterina herself was living in retirement, as her divorce was pending. "All will end well," writes Venier, "and I hope to see you happy, as you deserve." During his long absence Venier wrote frequent and lengthy epistles, full of curious details and shrewd observations. On September 10, 1782, from Paris, he says: "Paris is beautiful, but I would never choose Paris in preference to the humblest little village where dwells the most adorable lady Cattina. Don't take my words as mere compliments; they spring from my inmost heart, which is entirely yours." Speaking of the sights of Paris, he

says: "The grand opera exceeds my expectation; the ballet and the dresses are unlike anything to be seen elsewhere in Europe. The ladies almost all wear little hats, with few flowers, and plumes low down on them, coming down in the middle nearly to the eyes. The Queen, who always appears so, sets the fashion. At present the ladies all wear blouses, that is to say a blouse of muslin with braid over their dress. If you like to send me commissions, I will carry them out punctually. Elegance, ease, no affectation, no *gêne*, — these are the notes of Paris. But it is very dear; here one learns to look at each side of a penny, for money flies before one knows it. A lady could not enjoy Paris without making up her mind to a considerable sojourn and to spending a large sum of money, as did the Barbarigo."

In the letter of November 19 he says: "If my joy is so great when I receive your letters, what would it be were I actually near you! This absence, I assure you, spoils all my pleasure. . . . When I return to Venice, I shall not be able to adapt myself so easily to the Venetian theatre, which is very different from the theatre here, especially in the ballet, in comedy, in tragedy, and in the mounting. But as for the French ladies I shall find no difficulty in forgetting them when I find my dear mistress and friend ever gracious towards me. This letter was written yesterday for to-day, the 19th; I have to rise by candle-light and dress to go to Versailles, an uncomfortable business owing to the hour, the cold, and the tedious journey. At Versailles one sees the Court, the Diplomatic body, the foreigners from all countries, and everybody dines with the Minister M. de Vergenes; then one comes back to Paris in time for the opera. At Versailles we saw the Queen at play; she is beautiful and very amiable." On December 2 he writes, "I wish Paris were nearer Venice; I should then hear oftener from you. Every letter takes a month before the answer comes. That is rather too

long for one who desires to converse at every moment. My heart is in Italy, but I can't detach myself from this enchanting city. It is not because of the ladies, but on account of all the rest. . . . You, I suppose, are amusing yourself at the theatre and in society, and quite right too; we ought to make life as agreeable as possible. . . . We have lately had a new opera called *L'Embarras des richesses*, music by M. Grétry; a splendid performance. The Italian Maestro Tacchini is here and at work on three operas; but it is difficult for Italian composers to succeed in grand opera in Paris, for they are expected to write the music for the opera and the ballet-music, and there are certain numbers where the *ballerini* dance while the singers are singing. All this has to be arranged between the composer and the ballet-master, quite otherwise than in Italy." In the letter of March 18, 1783, he says: "The Carnival in Paris is not a whit more brilliant than Lent itself. The theatres and assemblies go on all the year. We have had more balls and gambling at Versailles than usual; the Queen is fond of both, and all the world follows her. I, after some storms, closed my game with honour, and even won a small sum which will help to cover expenses. I was sitting at the Queen's table and was pleased that the spectators wished me good-luck."

From Paris Venier went to London and Holland, but he never forgot Caterina, to whom he eventually offered his hand; she declined, and closed a long letter to her unlucky admirer with these words: "As any conversation between us now would be out of place, I trust you will avoid giving occasion for it by not seeing me for a while; though this interruption will not cause me to cease from the sentiments of true esteem which your most humble servant professes for you." The reason for this refusal may perhaps be found in certain tender notes addressed in French by Caterina to another adorer: "Je ne sais pas mais je ne suis pas

si gaie aujourd'hui qu'hier au soir. Serait-ce parceque j'ai un jour de moins à vous voir? Quand avez vous fixé votre départ? Je voudrais que tous les cheveaux fussent encloués. Adieu. Je ne vous aime pas."

The gossip, too, and scandals, the latest story which was going the round, roused the curiosity of the lady when in *villeggiatura*, and stimulated a friend to write to her: "My lady, if I am to be at ease I must figure you not only well but happy, lively, content to exchange the tedious monotony of the city for the distractions of your life in the country, *fêtes*, applause to the beautiful dancer, a little love affair, the renewal of old acquaintances, the beginning of new. Here the piazza is a desert, the theatres empty, San Moisè has the cold fit; faces in the boxes that one never sees all the rest of the year, straw hats that rouse curiosity. Signor Pietro M——, exercising his rights as a master, opened a letter addressed to one of his domestic servants, and found in it the whole arrangements for a love affair between his maid and the chevalier M——; result, dismissal of the footman and dismissal of the maid, all without reproach, quite calmly and nobly. Count A—— is the devoted slave of the fair B——, and has been partially reconciled to his mistress after several public quarrels. Count K——, a German, goes publicly to the theatre with Madame T—— V——. A fair young lady was carried off up the Brenta to Mira by two middle-aged protectors. Impossible to describe the disastrous results on the fashionable world of the Brenta, and the total failure of all the hats, cloaks, umbrellas, plumes, caps, and other female weapons made ready by the most illustrious dwellers in casinos, bijou residences, and gardens between Dolo and Oriago. La Banti is here, and those who have boxes even though they are on the third tier and cost a fortune, are well content. Here is a letter which may be a bore, perhaps, to its recipient, not to me who wrote it; I cannot close it without saying

that I verily believe you possess the power we hear of in fables — that is, of rendering wretched mortals divine. I fear poor Toni, your stern-oar, has the fatal misfortune to have gone mad with love for his mistress. He considers himself dismissed, and is so upset about it that he does not even try to find another place, but is determined not to leave you; he hangs about the palace, and plants himself like a sentinel before your door; if that road is closed to him, he will go round and fix himself like a third post in the canal before your water door; in the mean time he eats nothing, — a lump sticks in his throat and won't let him swallow. He swears he had nothing to do with the impertinence of his fellow, who does not deserve to be in service a single hour."

Amid all this gossip and frivolity a strong and noble sentiment dominated the mind of the lady Corner, her love for Pietro Pesaro. In his letters written from Rome, where he was ambassador in 1795 and 1796, Pesaro dwells on the unhappy plight of Italy and his presentiment of coming ruin. "The French," he says, "are making great strides towards Italy. They say the King of Sardinia will make peace for the all-powerful reason that he cannot carry on the war; just think what kind of a peace this must be, and what the conditions. After all these years of war we don't know even now what are the real relations between Rome and France, whether friendly, hostile, or neutral; and in this uncertainty we shall see the French quietly enter the country and oppress the inhabitants. These priests! they want to be at peace with France, and yet they dare not breathe the name, for Pius VI won't hear of it; they want to make war, but they have not the means. In short, they do nothing, and never will do anything, for they don't know what to do; and when the storm breaks, and it is imminent, let him it overwhelms look to himself." Again, on May 21, 1796, he says: "Here all the talk is of war, of occupations, of treaties. My chief difficulty

is to extract the truth from five hundred contradictory reports. Every one is a politician, every one has special information, and woe to the man who believes them! You have no idea of the confusion in the heads of these priests and cardinals. Terrible times! The States defend themselves so far with political weapons, but I doubt whether this fencing can go on much longer."

All the same Pesaro, in the midst of these grave cares, does not forget to pay attention to his mistress, to whom he sends a dress with these words: "I send a dress, not very costly but in the fashion; it is of plain wool, made here and well cut. Remember that the petticoat should be fastened a little below the breast, and that the sleeves should be caught up with ribbons at the shoulder; the body is fastened low down with pins in bunches of white ribbon. It is a dress for town or country, for receptions or for ordinary use."

When the Republic was on the point of falling, Pesaro left his native land, and before setting out for London, he sent a note to Caterina. The seal shows a leaf with the motto: "Je ne change qu'en mourant." The note runs thus: "I am going because I can't help it; so it is written in the book of my destiny. I don't come to see you, so as to spare the pang to both of us. My ear still hears and my heart retains that *caro ti*. I commend me to your memory; you will ever be present to me; your likeness is profoundly graven on my mind; it can never be effaced. I kiss your hands, Adieu." How many times in gloomy London must Pesaro have thought of the well-known house at San Marziale, where in the evenings, surrounded by her friends, sat Caterina, whose vivacity and attractiveness it seems the years could not impair.

The *conversazione* was, in truth, at this period woman's kingdom; we can see the amiable great ladies in their drawing-rooms, which Pietro Longhi has drawn

for us with all the fidelity of a chronicler.[1] Goldoni, too, has left us a description of a *conversazione* full of humour: "It is enough to make you die of laughing to go to a *conversazione*. There are the ladies with their *cavalieri serventi;* they sit there stiff as statues, waiting to be adored; her lover sighs over the shoulder of one, or kneels at her feet; another hands the tea, or picks up a handkerchief, or kisses a hand, or offers his arm, or plays the secretary, the footman, the hairdresser, the perfumer, or fondles or follows about like a dog."[2]

In the midst of this flutter of fans and rustle of silks the sole topic of conversation was the small talk and gossip of the piazza. But the *conversazioni* of the upper classes, as represented by Goldoni, lack that formal decorum, that sense of dignity — pretentious, if you like, but always consistent with itself — which never really deserted the aristocracy; he gives to his nobility too much of the air of the *bourgeoisie*, and his counts and marquises differ only from the shopkeeper by the prefix *Don*.[3] Of course some of the great ladies, even in real life, were not free from vulgarity, but the effect was modified by the splendid setting of their houses and their dress. Frivolous or gossiping conversation occupied certain salons, but in others the topic was frequently lofty and original; love, letters, and art were woven together in a delightful vivacity of discussion. Venetian women were charming talkers and made skilful use of the liquid Venetian dialect. The looseness of language, frankly unreserved, which obtained during the Seicento, became more piquant and more reticent

[1] "Longhi's pictures for the most part represent aristocratic assemblies of ladies and gentlemen, whose actual portraits he drew, giving us their whole manner and carriage, so that they can be recognised even when masked." Moschini, *Lett. Ven.*, III, 66.

[2] Goldoni, *Le femmine puntigliose*, Act II, sc. xiv.

[3] Vernon Lee, op. cit., II, 264. Merlato Maria, *Mariti e Cavalier serventi nelle comm. goldon.*, p. 9. Firenze, 1906.

in the Settecento, and indecency was tempered by lively wit and turn of phrase.

The most venerable personages used to take part in these *conversazioni*, where they gladly recalled the days of their youth. Alvise Mocenigo, the most sociable man of his day, was elected Doge in 1721; but he refused to abandon his habits, and every evening, without his suite or escort, he went in a gondola to his brother's house to talk and to gamble.[1] The Doge Marco Foscarini in his official capacity always displayed an excessive rigidity of manner, but in private society he was a most agreeable talker.[2] Men of austere habits, like Gaspare Gozzi, and lofty and serene intellects, like Carlo Goldoni, were assiduous at the *soirées* of Maria Sagredo Pisani, of Caterina Tron, of Cecilia Quirini Zorzi, of Cornelia Barbaro Gritti, and of Faustina Rezzonico.[3] The law which forbade the patricians to have any dealings with attachés at foreign embassies was still in force, though little observed and frequently evaded[4]; but all reluctance to admit strangers to their society had quite disappeared, and foreigners found a ready welcome.[5]

The great halls of the palaces were thrown open for balls and *fêtes*, and also for concerts, at which such

[1] Poellnitz, *Lett. et Mém.*, cit., II, 77, 78.

[2] Baretti, *Gl' It.*, cit., p. 260.

[3] Men of letters and of genius were freely admitted to this patrician society. When, on April 17, 1752, they celebrated the wedding of Giovanni Mocenigo with Caterina Loredan, niece of the Doge Francesco Loredan, Carlo Goldoni was invited to the Palace, not to the great Hall of Banquets, but to the smaller room reserved for friends of Ca' Mocenigo and Ca' Loredan. The poet recalled the honour done him when twenty years later he met Mocenigo as ambassador in Paris (*Mém.*, cit., II, 263). Goldoni dedicated his *Cavaliere di buon gusto* to Mocenigo.

[4] "Il ne faut pas croire que, quoique la noblesse vénitienne ne puisse avoir aucun commerce avec les ambassadeurs (sévérité bien sage), les ministres étrangers ne soient pas dans une sorte de liaison avec les magistrats; on se parle par des tiers; on se dit bien des choses par des signes à l'Opéra, circonstance qui rend la fréquentation des spectacles et l'usage du masque nécessaires aux ministres étrangers; il se forme même entre eux et les Vénitiens des amitiés vives et constantes." Bernis, *Mém. et lettr.*, cit., I, 183.

[5] Poellnitz, op. cit., II, 92. Moore, *Letters*, cit., III, 196.

masters as Marcello, Scarlatti, and Porpora would take a part.[1] The smaller chambers in the *mezzanino* were reserved for the regular evening reception of guests, to whom they served coffee and chocolate, the two favourite drinks which stimulated conversation.[2] President De Brosses, in the drawing-room of the Procuratessa Foscarini, saw the guests offered watermelon — "une grosse citrouille coupée en quartiers, met détestable s'il en fut jamais." But we must remember that De Brosses himself compares such modest entertainment with the luxury of the Labbia, a patrician "sur le retour, qui a été fort belle et fort galante, folle des français"; whom the witty President offered to accompany to France "conjointement avec ses bijoux, et ses pierreries, les plus belles peut-être que possède aucun particulier de l'Europe."[3]

Often after the theatre the ladies would go on to the casino

> d'ogni delizia umana . . .
> Vera appendice,

and the conversation, begun late at night, would not end before dawn. A contemporary says: "Perhaps in no other town save Venice is two o'clock in the morning considered the most suitable hour to begin a conversation."[4] Lamberti, however, is careful to point

[1] "Il n'y a presque pas de soirée, qu'il n'y ait académie quelque part," says De Brosses. Benedetto Marcello was a constant attendant at the musical meetings in the house of his friend Isabella Renier Lombria. In the palace of Benedetto Grimani and that of Count Carlo Tassis della Torre, two ladies, Cecilia Sagredo Baffo and Elena Michiel Gambara, used to perform Marcello's psalms to the voice and harpsichord. Moschini, *Lett. Ven.*, III, 209.

[2] The Jesuit Roberti declares that the most delightful moments which friendship can offer or create are those when two friends are slowly and quietly drinking a cup of chocolate in company. In one of Goldoni's melodramas (*La Conversazione*, Act I, sc. i.), the chorus sings:

> Viva pur la cioccolata
> E colui che l'ha inventata.

[3] De Brosses, *Lettre XV.*

[4] Ballarini, *Lett.*, cit., May 19, 1781.

out that not all the casinos were gambling-saloons or *rendezvous* for lovers.

> Tuti per altro no xe a questi eguali;
> Ghe n'è de quei che se pol dir Licei,
> Là saviezza, onestà, chiari natali,
> Casta belezza, purità da Dei,
> Spirito sodo, grazie naturali.[1]

The casino of San Giuliano, belonging to the Procuratessa Caterina Dolfin Tron, was celebrated, though very modest in its fittings. Every Monday there was a reception, and a single gondolier sufficed to announce the guests and snuff the candles. No one of any name, whether Italian or foreigner, failed to attend these assemblies, and all of them took away with them pleasant memories of the amiable lady. Among the more assiduous were Carlo and Gaspare Gozzi, the Abbé Barbaro, the turbulent Giorgio Pisani, and the restless Angelo Quirini. All who paid court to the queen of the salon were fascinated by her quick intelligence, her culture, and her gracious manners. A hater of shams, she was not, like so many ladies of easy virtue, indulgent to her own slips but severe on others; to all alike she showed herself superior to meanness, but never arrogant. Her kindness and goodness of heart are revealed in the anecdote of herself and the Princess Gonzaga. That lady had come to Venice with a reputation so damaged that no one would venture to present her officially. "Very well," said the Tron, "since all decline I will present her myself." She accompanied the Princess to an assembly and, addressing the ladies present, said, "This is the Princess Gonzaga. She belongs to a noble family, for this I answer; as for the rest, I answer neither for her nor for you nor for myself."[2]

[1] Lamberti, *Quattro stagioni*, cit., p. 20.

[2] Reumont, *Rawdon Brown* (*Arch. Stor. It.*, Ser. IV, Tom. XVI, pp. 180-181. Firenze, 1885).

In some of these Venetian salons, amid the chatter, the cards, and the flirtations, the doctrines of France gradually worked their way, and the thoughtless crowd felt the profound change of ideas and feelings which was taking place around it. The Revolution entered to the step of a minuet, and between madrigals and risky anecdotes were discussed the subtle and complex theories of Helvetius and Diderot, the witty and irreverent philosophy of Chamfort, Voltaire, and Rousseau, sentimental and metaphysical dissertations on the social contract, the state of nature, the rights of man; and thus gradually among the upper classes there was formed a fashion, almost an affectation, of accepting the theories which were to revolutionise society. Caterina Tron's circle did not escape the infection, and the Inquisitors of State thought it prudent to close the casino of San Giuliano, where, as the Abbé Angelo Barbaro says, in his *Lamento dei poveri lustrissimi della conversazione Tron andata a monte:*

Da strissimi studiosi
Citavimo Russò,
Da strissimi ingegnosi
Disevimo bomò,
I strissimi, le strissime, i abati
Per la conversazion i era ati e nati.

The casino was reopened, and it was there that Caterina, now well on in years and surrounded by only a few faithful friends, died of syncope on November 13, 1793.

Nor in these last days of the Republic must we omit to mention the assemblies of the Princess Rasini,[1] who

[1] "Donna Isabella, principessa Rasini di Roma, vedova del marchese Giovanni Soresina Vidoni di Cremona, estendeva le sue relazioni e i suoi maneggi sino ne' più segreti gabinetti d'Europa. Abitava a San Geremia, mantenendo una corte degna di lei, e trattandosi con una splendidezza che superava l'essere di donna privata. Le domeniche e i giorni d'ogni settimana teneva conversazione a tutti gli esteri ministri presso la Repubblica, e negli altri giorni al Doge e Savi del Consiglio, agl'Inquisitori di Stato e a

spent some time in the lagoons, and of two foreign ladies, Giustiniana Wynne, widow of Count Rosenberg-Orsini, who wrote in French on Venetian subjects, and the Countess Ernestine de Weisenwolf, widow of Paffy, married for the second time to Giacomo Durazzo, patrician of Genoa, who was for twenty years Austrian ambassador in Venice. But even in those days there were two salons still more in vogue, though they reached the height of their fame only after the fall of the Republic, — the reunions of the Albrizzi and of Giustina Michiel. Isabella Teotochi, born in 1760 at Corfù, was married against her will to Carlo Antonio Marin; with the consent of the ecclesiastical authorities she dissolved this marriage without any injury to her fair name, and in 1796 she married Giuseppe Albrizzi, to whom she was always much attached.[1] At the age of sixteen, as wife of Marin, she came to Venice, and her kindness, sweetness, lively wit, and striking beauty soon won her distinguished friends. Madame Le Brun painted her in 1792; the portrait has a wonderfully sweet and attractive expression, and its beauty is marvellous.

Giustina Renier Michiel (b. 1755) also delighted in

tutt' i principi del Veneto Governo; non potendo i primi trovarsi giammai con questi per la veneta costituzione." Longo, *Memorie*, cit., I, 69.

[1] Succeeding generations have been more unfair to Isabella than her own. Malamani (*Is. T. Albrizzi*, Torino, 1883) declares that the *saggia Isabella* was considered by the Albrizzi as an ornament of the family; but G. Chiarini, writing on Foscolo, tries to identify Isabella with the famous "Laura" beloved by the youthful poet, and then with the *celeste Temira*, who, according to a certain autobiographical romance hardly sketched out (see *Opere di U. Foscolo*, XII, 54 et seq), was his mistress in a vulgar love-affair (see Chiarini, *Gli amori di U. Foscolo nelle sue lettere*. Bologna, 1892, I, 3-42, 539-540; II, 3-4). This opinion, which is shared by De Winckels in his kindly but bungling *Vita di U. Foscolo* (Verona, Drucker, I, 12 et seq), is opposed by A. Michieli in his *Ugo Foscolo a Venezia* (in the *Nuovo Archivio Veneto*, N. S., from Tom. V, Part II, to Tom. VII, Part I), who proves that if the love of Isabella for Foscolo was not quite free of sensuality it certainly was blameless and worthy of the manner in which it was requited. In confirmation we have the letters which passed between them, edited by Chiarini (Roma, 1902); E. Masi's *Parrucche e Sanculotti nel secolo XVIII*, and Antona-Traversi's *Di un amore di Ugo Foscolo* (Milano, 1883).

the society of her friends, and her salon, in the Corte Contarina at San Moisè, was always open to them. The assemblies of Marina Quirini Benzon and Cecilia Zeno Tron were more sparkling; these two fair ladies continued to diffuse an air of gaiety over the last days of the Republic, which with careless indifference paid no attention to the hurricane which was brewing in France.

The state which once had scaled the heights of glory disappeared in a kind of voluptuous stupor, not, however, debased by aught that was abject. In the society of Venice during the last days there were more defects than faults, frivolity of sentiment rather than violence of passion. Corruption never presented itself under the guise of a crude sensuality; it was never involved in turpitude, nor, as in ancient Rome, did it break into outbursts of brutality and mad lust. Venice was no worse than France, which was preparing the great Revolution, England under Anne and George, Prussia under Frederick II, Sweden with her Queen Christina, or Spain with Charles VI, at whose court Manuel Godoy, the Queen's favourite, set the tone.[1] In Rome looseness of morals had reached such a pitch that Pope Benedict XIV confessed in one of his genial moments that he had heard a lady of his day declare that a woman ought to marry if only not to miss the chance of being a widow. In Venice the poetry of the place, its singular site, the development of its art, all contributed to emphasise the corruption which was common to the rest of Europe.

[1] Moore, in his Letters (III, 194), says it would be difficult to prove that the Venetians were more addicted to sensual pleasure than the inhabitants of London, Paris, or Berlin.

CHAPTER XIII

THE SCIENTIFIC AND LITERARY MOVEMENT

TOWARDS the close of the seventeenth century the flower of art and of poetry faded away, but the strength of the Italian intellect asserted itself in the progress of science; and contemporaneously, though slowly, the Italian conscience was forming and maturing the conception of an independent and united Italy. The shame and the injury of foreign occupation stirred in some breasts magnanimous aspirations, and among the crowd of poets we find generous souls like Tassoni, Chiabrera, Testi, Filicaia, and Menzini, who every now and then flash out the idea of national unity. Venice, on the other hand, had never known foreign domination; she could not feel her heart beating with the heart of suffering Italy; even her most distinguished men, like Paolo Sarpi, rarely or never extended their gaze beyond the limits of the lagoons. But if, in consequence of her peculiar position, the Republic never grasped the idea of a free and united Italy, on the other hand, the scientific movement which preluded the modern age made itself strongly felt in Venice.

In 1592 the Republic summoned to Padua Galileo, the man of science who was destined to inaugurate the new epoch, and for eighteen years the hospitality of Venice gave him leisure for his studies and repose for his spirit.[1] No one ever acquired or bestowed higher

[1] Galilei, *Opere*, ed. Antonio Favaro. Firenze, 1900–1907. Galileo was appointed to the chair of mathematics by an order of September 26, 1592 (XIX, 111). He gave his inaugural address on December 7, 1592,

honour in his chair than did the great scientist, and potent and widespread was the influence he exerted over his pupils, and over all who were privileged to hear him talk in the intimacy of his home in Borgo de' Vignali near the Santo. In 1610 Galileo said adieu to his beloved pupils of Padua, *domicilio naturale del suo ingegno*. Gloriosi and Sovero, who succeeded him in the chair of mathematics, followed his luminous footsteps, emancipated from all servitude to Aristotle. But all too soon the spirit of Galileo vanished from the lecture-rooms of Padua, and that university, like others in Italy, entered on a period of feebleness and inefficiency.[1] It did not, as some insist, become a mere mechanical workshop of pedantic erudition,[2] but it is certain that the finer scholars, if invited, showed no wish to teach there, — such, for example, as Lipsius and Gronovius. In 1626 a German student noted the decline of the medical school and the weakness of the anatomical and surgical teaching[3]; and these unfortunate conditions persisted even when Italy could boast such a light as Marcello Malpighi.

The quickening of the spirit and the intellect which manifested itself at Padua about the close of the Cinquecento and the opening of the Seicento was reflected in Venice in new and daring lines of thought.

and the first lesson on the 13th following (XIX, 121). The appointment was for the usual four years with two extra. The salary was 180 florins a year. By decree of October 28, 1599, Galileo's appointment was confirmed for six more years at 320 florins a year to begin December 17 of the preceding year (XIX, 112). By decree of August 5, 1606, he was reappointed for six years and his stipend raised to 520 florins (X, 159; XIX, 114). On August 25, 1609, he was appointed for life at 1000 florins a year (XIX, 115, 588, 609). He resigned on June 15, 1600 (XIX, 125), at the close of a scholastic year, which terminated officially on June 13th, though the *vacationes magnae* always began a week or two earlier. He was bound to teach for *60 mez' hore* during the year, like the other professors (X, 350).

[1] Tiraboschi, *St. della Lett. It.*, VIII, 50, 51. Venezia, 1824.

[2] Busetto, *Carlo de' Dottori*, cit., p. 7.

[3] Brugi, *Per la St. dell' Univ. di Pad.* (in the "Atti della R. Acc. di Pad." Vol. XVIII, Dispensa I, 1902).

Marcantonio de Dominis, born at Arbe in Dalmatia in 1561, taught at Padua in his early years. His was a restless and rebellious spirit; in the bottom of his heart inclined toward the Reformation, appointed, first of all, Bishop of Senia, and then Archbishop of Spalato, he did not conceal his leanings towards the new religious movement, and in 1615 he had to leave Dalmatia, and betook himself to Venice, where he made the acquaintance of Fra Paolo Sarpi, who gave him a manuscript copy of his History of the Council of Trent. De Dominis then went to Chur, Heidelberg, and England, where, in 1617, he published Fra Paolo's history, with a preface by himself. On his return to Italy, in 1625, he was imprisoned and died in the castle of Sant' Angelo; his body was given to the flames. But Venice always remained outside religious passions and controversies; the new spirit showed itself, not in an audacious attack on dogma, but in affirming the authority of the State as against that of the Church, and by accepting, in the region of science, the experimental method which was to reform the human intelligence.

The voice of Galileo, recalling men to the study of natural phenomena and the abandonment of scholastic formulas and abstractions, was often heard in Venice, especially in the house of the historian Andrea Morosini.[1] Among those who gathered round the great scientist and listened in amazement to his speculations on the mighty truths, two, at least, were capable of following him, — Fra Paolo Sarpi and Gian Francesco Sagredo. Galileo's friendship and teaching gave an impulse to Sagredo's intellect beyond all doubt, but the illustrious patrician, one of the noblest figures which adorn the Republic, had qualities of character and intellect all his own. He was absolutely without political ambitions, but in the modest offices which he filled

[1] Favaro, *Un ridotto scientifico*, cit. See Part II, Vol. I, p. 282, of this work.

through a sense of duty, he served his country with prudence and foresight. The delights of love, which were much to his taste, could not distract him from his studies which followed the new movement, nor from his ingenious inventions which did so much to assist the advancement of physics and meteorology, and secured him the honour of being selected by Galileo as one of the interlocutors in his dialogues.[1]

Not infrequently, too, science came to the aid of public life, and the new spirit, which animated the University of Padua, stirred and urged not a few Venetian patricians to recall the government to its ancient vigorous principles, be it in curbing the excessive power of the Ten, be it in noble and dignified resistance to the menaces of the Curia Romana.[2] Sarpi, the calm spectator and profound investigator, affirms, with all the serenity of a scientific demonstration, the legitimate authority of the State, without, however, the smallest insult to the faith whose dogmas and cult he always respected and whose minister he was. It was not a religious but a political contest which raged round Venice; in fighting Paul V the Republic was fighting the preponderance of Spain, whose friend the Pope was. The Interdict launched by the Pope was equivalent to war declared by the King.

At one with Sarpi in his ideas, and sometimes the source of them, were the Doge Leonardo Donato, a robust, severe, and determined character, and the senator Domenico Molino (1573–1635), proclaimed both by Italians and foreigners of distinction as one of the most illustrious persons of his age. More modest but not less vigorous defenders of Venetian civil liberty were the legal advisers of the Republic, such as Graziani,

[1] Favaro, *Giovanfrancesco Sagredo* (*Nuovo Arch. Veneto*, Tom. IV, 1892).

[2] Favaro, Ibid., when discussing the influence of the new scientific movement on the government, opportunely cites Romanin (*St.*, VI, 367) and Ranke (*Zur venez. Gesch.*, p. 84. Leipzig, 1888).

Pellegrini, Scaino, Monticolo, Ottelio,[1] Fra Fulgenzio Micanzio, the faithful disciple of Sarpi, and Antonio Quirini, who, in a volume placed on the Index, defended the rights of the Republic.[2] This high conception of civic independence spread through every fibre of national life, whereas the scientific movement was confined to the minds of some few thinkers and was quickly sterilised. In 1620, ten years after Galileo had quitted Padua, Gianfrancesco Sagredo died in his forty-ninth year,[3] and in 1623 Fra Paolo Sarpi followed him to the grave. With the exception of Fra Fulgenzio Micanzio, those of Andrea Morosini's scientific coterie who still survived, like Benedetto Zorzi, Agostino da Mula, Giannantonio and Sebastiano Venier, Alvise Mocenigo and Giacomo Morosini, were not intellects capable of keeping alive the flame of scientific curiosity which, in other parts of Italy, and especially in Tuscany, still burned bright, persistent, intense, and revivifying in spite of many difficulties. It is a significant fact that Zaccaria Sagredo, on the death of his brother Gianfrancesco, wrote to Galileo and told him that the library and instruments of the deceased had been scattered and destroyed on purpose, "as I do not wish that, with my consent, my children should stuff their heads with useless things."[4]

Still, in a soil which was now all but sterile, the seed of science continued to bear fruit. Medical science did its best to shake itself free of empiricism. The establishment of a well-equipped anatomical theatre at San Giacomo dall' Orio in 1671, thanks to the legacy of three thousand ducats bequeathed by Lorenzo Loredano, is worthy of remark. During the first half of the

[1] Romanin, *St.*, VII, 38.

[2] Quirini, *Avviso delle Ragioni della Sereniss. Rep. di Ven. intorno alle difficoltà che le sono promosse dalla Santità di Paolo V.* Venetia, Deuchino, 1606.

[3] Favaro, *G. Sagredo*, cit.

[4] Galilei, *Opere*, cit., XIII, 42.

seventeenth century the honour of the medical school was maintained by the Venetians Viviano Viviani, Domenico Terrillo, and Michelangelo Rota, Cecilio Folio of Modena, Giovanni Stefani of Belluno, and others.[1] Santorre Santorio of Capodistria was well known in foreign lands. He was the author of the *Medicina Statica*, and after professing medicine in his early days in Venice, he was called to the chair of medicine in Padua in 1611. In 1620 he quitted Padua to return to the practice of his art in Venice, where he died in 1636, at the age of seventy-five. John Vesling (1598–1648), born at Minden in Westphalia, was Professor of Anatomy and Botany at Padua, and spent some time in Venice; while Giuseppe Aromatari, of Assisi (d. 1660), practised medicine there for fifty years; besides many scientific works, especially on botany, he bequeathed to posterity his literary polemic with Tasoni.[2] Aromatari, in his letter *De generatione plantarum ex seminibus*, divined the principles which form the basis of modern botanical science, and in his company we must recall a modest druggist of Venice, Antonio Donati, who in 1631 published a treatise on the *Semplici dei lidi di Venezia*, the earliest example of those compilations now known as Floras.

The plague of 1630 carried off many physicians, and the quacks began to reap a fortune[3]; but science soon

[1] Cod. Marciana, Cl. VII, it. Cod. 2342, which forms part of the manuscripts belonging to the College of Physicians in Venice, and contains an abstract from the Acts of the College, gives us a good deal of information on the practice of medicine in Venice from the close of the sixteenth to the middle of the seventeenth century. The Acts of the Priors inform us that during the first thirty years of the seventeenth century the physicians enrolled in the College numbered between sixty and seventy. The College could confer the degree of Doctor, and these are registered from the beginning of the sixteenth century down to 1747. There is also the list of the Priors from 1503 to 1747; the earlier names are lost with the first volume of the Acts.

[2] Fabri, *Vita di G. Aromatari*. Venezia, 1661.

[3] Bernardi, *Del Coll. med. chir. e dell' arte chir. in Venezia*, pp. 71, 72. Venezia, 1791.

reasserted its sway, thanks chiefly to the efforts of Sebastiano Melli, surgeon in the hospitals of SS. Giovanni e Paolo and of Castello, in conjunction with Antonio Molinetti, professor of anatomy and medicine at Padua (d. 1675), and, later on, with Giandomenico Santorini (1680–1736), who in 1714 published his *Osservazioni anatomiche*, explaining his own discoveries which gave so great an impulse to the study of the human body. From this period onward medical science in Venice never ceased to progress, and while Padua boasts the great Giambattista Morgagni of Forlì, Antonio Vallisnieri of Reggio, and Leopoldo Caldani of Bologna, in Venice there were practising Paitoni, Colludrowitz, Aglietti, Stefano Gallino, Pajola, Orteschi, Pezzi, Bernardi, Pellegrini, Macoppe, and Baronio, Goldoni's physician, all of whom coupled profound knowledge with experience. The fame of Antonio Scarpa, the anatomist, born at Motta di Livenza[1] in 1747, passed beyond the borders of Italy.

The Seicento, which saw Venice harassed by the wars of Candia and Morea, produced distinguished writers on military science, such as Giambattista Colombina, Giusto Emilio, Sigismondo Alberghetti, who invented an instrument, based on the theory of logarithms, for determining the trajectory of projectiles.[2] Civil architecture produced Scamozzi's masterly work, *L'idea dell' architettura universale*, published in 1615 in Venice, where the author died in the following year, at the age of sixty-six.

Among the ornaments of science we must number the geometrician Stefano degli Angeli (1623–1697), one of the first to apply the theories of Galileo on the

[1] Puccinotti, *St. della Medic.*, III, 103, 129, 136. Napoli, 1863.

[2] *Bibl. matem. it. dalla orig. della stampa ai primi anni del sec. XIX comp. dal dott. Pietro Riccardi*, Part I. Modena, 1870. Marinelli *Ven. nella st. della geografia* (in the *Atti del R. Ist. Ven.*, Tom. VII, ser. VI, 1888–1889).

motion of the earth. Doroteo Alimari was born in Venice, of a Milanese family, and achieved renown as a mathematician, inventing a method for calculating the longitude when on the high seas. Galileo's friend and disciple Paolo Aproino of Treviso, the physicist, lived for some time in Venice, and died there in 1638; Galileo introduced him into his dialogues. Father Vincenzo Maria Coronelli (1650–1718), a Venetian born at Ravenna, was geographer to the Republic. He left many scientific works, and in his great atlases shows, in spite of many errors, a wide erudition and prodigious diligence. Coronelli founded in 1684 the Academy of the "Argonauts," which is not to be compared either to the Florentine "Cimento" nor to the Roman "Lincei," but nevertheless did much to spread geographical science, — a science which at this period had two able students, Raffaello Savonarola of Padua, author of a large dictionary of geography, and Antonio Magini, who edited Ptolemy and published an atlas of Italy.[1] Nor must we omit the astronomers Bonaventura Capridoni, Francesco Travagnini, who wrote on the motion of the earth, and Bernardo Facini, author of a planisphere described by Vallisnieri. The whole question of hydrostatics as applied to the lagoons and to the rivers of the plain occupied the attention of such students as Alessandro Radice, Gian Luigi Gallesi, Giuseppe Benoni, Geminiano Montanari, Domenico Margutti, Giandomenico Guglielmini,[2] all of them able hydraulic engineers, who in the next century found worthy successors in Bernardo Trevisan, Anton Maria Lorgna, Angelo Artico, Simone Stratico, and, most famous of all, Bernardino Zendrini.[3]

The love of travel was not quite extinct, and the Seicento can show several descriptions of distant countries,

[1] Marinelli, op. cit.
[2] Zendrini, *Mem. Stor. della lag. di Ven.*, cit., Tom. II.
[3] Vacani, *Della lag. di Ven.* Firenze, 1867.

of strange men and manners. Among the travellers we find a few patricians who shake off the prevalent sloth. To take these explorers in their chronological order, we have Cecchino Martinelli, who went to Syria, Palestine, Egypt, and the East Indies in search of simples, and from Malacca, in 1604, sent to Venice amomum and calamus[1]; Tomaso Contarini drew up an account of Germany (1606); the missionary Giuseppe de Brunis settled in Palestine and published his *Reductorium Hierosolymitanum* (1616); the ambassador Giorgio Giustinian described the journey from Constantinople to Dalmatia (1627); and Giambattista Tagliapietra, the *Itinerario di Soria* (1631).

In 1671 Ambrogio Bembo went to Aleppo, India, Persia, and Arabia, leaving a Journal of his voyages; he had as travelling companion as far as Cyprus Giannantonio Soderini, on his way to Anatolia, Egypt, and Syria, chiefly with intent to collect medals. In the year 1671 there sailed, in the fleet under Marco Bembo, the Venetian physician Angiolo Legrenzi, who, after journeys in Syria, Aleppo, the Holy Land, Persia, and India, came back to Venice in 1694, and recorded his impressions in a volume entitled *Il pellegrino nell' Asia*, published at Venice in 1705. Niccolò Manucci, in the second half of the Seicento, was physician at the Court of the Great Mogul, and wrote his valuable *Memorie storiche sul Mogol*[2]; Antonio Cellesti (1672–1712) and Marino Michiel (1678) described the Holy Land, and Giambattista Donà, Ambassador at Constantinople (1680–1684), his journey to the Bosphorus, taken in company with the Bolognese Marsigli and Benetti, first

[1] *Ragionamenti di Cecchino Martinello sopra l'Amomo et Calamo aromatico. Novamente l'anno 1604 havuto di Malaca Città d'India dall' Eccell. Sig. Cecchino Martinello suo zio.* In Venetia, Appresso Gratioso Perchacino, 1604.

[2] Recently translated into English for the India office (London, Murray, 1907, 4 vols.). See Coggiola, G., *Sulla nuova integrale pubblicazione della Storia del Mogol del veneziano N. Manucci* (in the *Atti del VI Congresso Geografico*. Venezia, 1907).

president of the "Argonauts."[1] The study of foreign languages, so necessary for the understanding of human thought, also received generous encouragement from the patrician Cardinal Gregorio Barbarigo (1625–1697), Bishop of Padua; he opened a seminary in that city, and provided it with competent teachers of Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Chaldee, Arabic, and Syrian; he also set up a press with fonts of type in all these languages. Another patrician, Cardinal Giorgio Cornaro, followed him in the See and in his generous patronage of learning.

Venice was not lacking in scientific and literary activity during the Seicento, but it was confined to a few and overshadowed by the ostentatious and noisy life of the academies. That noxious weed, cultivated merely to satisfy personal vanity, spread with prodigious rapidity during the seventeenth century. An endless number of academies sprang into existence, with names and devices, such as the Discordanti, Instancabili, Sviluppati, Immaturi, Ordinati, Animosi, Assicurati, Marittimi, Filelèuteri, Arditi, Fioriti, Incogniti, Peripatetici, Imperfetti, Tassisti, Immobili, Delfici, Abbagliati, Paragonisti, Intricati, Silenti, Suscitati, Imperturbabili, Infuocati, Pacifici, Filaleti, Dodonei, Separati, Infaticabili, Filadelfici, Industriosi.[2] That effort towards a fruitful criticism which was to be discerned here and there in the peninsula was entirely wanting in the Venetian academies. They met on stated days merely to declaim prose and verse, and to read novels and stories for the sole purpose of passing the time and amusing themselves.[3] So, at least,

[1] Zurla, *Di Marco Polo e degli viagg. ven. più illustri.* Venezia, 1818. Morelli, J., *Diss. int. ad alcuni viagg. Ven.* (in the *Operette*, cit., Vol. II). Amat di San Filippo, *Biog. dei viagg. it.*, I, 378–465. Roma, 1882. In the eighteenth century Venetian travellers are rarer. We may mention Giandomenico Coleti (1747), who went to South America and compiled a *Dizionario storico geografico* on the subject. Marinelli, *Ven. nella st. della geog.*, cit.

[2] Battagia, *Delle Accad. Ven.*, cit.

[3] Loredano, *Bizzarrie accademiche*, p. 149. Venezia, 1638.

Meeting of an Academy — from a watercolour of the XVIII century. (Milan, in the Bertarelli Collection)

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says Gianfrancesco Loredano, who founded in 1636, and held the sceptre of, one of the most celebrated academies, the "Incogniti."[1]

Among these "Incogniti," drawn from all parts of Italy, ten were Venetians, and we can still catch the echo of their mutual laudations and the aroma of the incense they burned to one another. The first place belongs to Loredano himself, the *prencipe* of the Academy, "in whom are united all the qualities which we admire in the other members." Then come the patricians Dardi Bembo, translator and commentator of Plato; Giovanni Garzoni, poet and orator, great-grandson, on his mother's side, of Torquato Tasso; Leonardo Quirini, a poet, and Pietro Michiel, rhymester and novelist. Among the rest were Cornelio, a member of the Frangipani family, the legal adviser of the Republic; Giovanmaria Vanti, born at Bologna and brought as a babe to Venice, author of a poem in heroics on *Il Mondo Nuovo;* Marino dall' Angelo, the eloquent advocate; Niccolò Crasso, prose-writer, poet, and orator of more than Italian fame; Giambattista Bertanni, "friend of the Cavaliere Marino and imitator of his style." Marino was in Venice in 1601, seeing his poems through the press with the printer Giambattista Ciotti, and made his influence felt on Venetian poets. Among this crowd of rhymesters only a few names are now remembered and then only by the learned; among them were to be found ladies whom we have already mentioned, like Cornaro Piscopia, Sara Copia,[2] and others.

Epic poetry, so brilliant in Tasso, languishes and dies in Giulio Strozzi's *Venetia edificata*, in Giambattista

[1] *Le Glorie degli Incogniti*, cit. Tiraboschi (*St. della Lett.*, VIII, 81) thinks that the author was Loredano himself. The writer really was Girolamo Brusoni. See Brocchi, *Un novelliere del sec. XVII.* Padova, 1897.

[2] Morelli, J., *Della cult. della poesia presso li Ven.* (*Operette*, cit., I, 223, 224). The Appendix to Sansovino's *Venetia*, with the additions of Martinioni, contains the names of various Venetian poets.

Bertanni's *Gerusalemme liberata*, in Lucrezia Marinella's *Enrico ovvero Bisantio acquistato*, in Giovan Mario Verdizotti's *Boemondo o l'aquisto d'Antiochia*. Verdizotti was a Venetian priest, engraver on wood, friend and secretary to Titian.[1] The mock-heroic style, which had the splendid example of Tassoni, happily imitated by the Paduan Carlo de' Dottori, now dwindles down to the wretched *Iliade giocosa* of Gianfrancesco Loredano, a miserable travesty of the first six cantos of the Iliad.

Dialectical poetry shared the general decline and lost its freshness in grotesque antitheses and extravagant metaphors. Marco Boschini published a treatise on artistic criticism written in the vernacular; here is the title: *La Carta del Navegar Pittoresco dialogo tra un Senator venetian deletante e un professor de Pitura, soto nome d'Eselenza e de Compare, comparso in oto canti con i quali la Nave Venetiana vien conduta in l'alto Mar de la Pitura, come assoluta dominante de quelo a confusion de chi non intende el bossolo de la calamita.*[2] The title alone gives the character of the style, but the contents are better than the form; and if the author is grotesque, his criticism is frequently acute; he often pronounces a sound judgment and collects valuable information, — two qualities which lend value to Carlo Ridolfi's *Vite dei pittori*. Boschini's defects are apparent in a host of other dialectical versifiers, like Fra Giulio Cesare Bona, Domenico Balbi, Piero Caurlini, Paolo Marchesi Vedoa, Cesare Tebaldi, Padre Cacia, Badoer, and Mocenigo, all of whom are barely mentioned by Gamba.[3]

[1] Verdizotti never published more than the first canto of his *Boemondo*. We have samples of his engraving in another work of his entitled *Cento favole morali de' più ill. antichi e moderni autori*. Venezia, Ziletti, 1570. The pictures are credited, but without foundation, to Titian. See Zeno, *Annotazioni alla Bibl. It. del Fontanini*, II, 106, n. 2.

[2] Venezia, Baba, 1660.

[3] Gamba, *Serie degli scritti in dial. ven.*, pp. 99–137. Venezia, 1832. Gamba mentions a certain Andreini, and the author of the *Guerra dei pugni fra Nicoloti e Castellani*, who wrote under the pseudonym of Basnatio Sorsi, Bartolomeo Bocchini called *Zan Muzzina*, a Bolognese by birth, who

The *Tasso stravesto da barcariol venezian* is not lacking in spirit, though the form is trivial; its author was Tomaso Mondini; the work of Paolo Britti, called the *Cieco da Venezia*, breathes an air of frank *bonhommie*, — his songs have a pleasing musical rhythm, and he gives us the life of the people, which he could not see, in touches that are at once vigorous and expressive. An anonymous poet, who calls himself the *Pescatore di Dorsoduro*, describes, in his *Tartana in Morea*, Morosini's war in the Peloponnesus, in metaphors of ridiculous extravagance, though here and there one comes across passages of vivid colouring.

Furthermore we must mention the flood of anonymous verse poured out at the time of the Interdict of Paul V, in answer to the vicious satires on the Republic, also the invectives against the Turks and the attacks on Spain.[1] It was the habit to circulate in the streets leaflets of verse satirising, frequently with obscene intent, the magistrates, the nobles, and the people.[2] Side by side with anonymous, shameless, and irreverent satire we get a more elevated type in the work of Dario Varotari, who must not be confused with the Veronese painter of the same name; he is facile and witty, and attacks the luxury and the fashions of his day, the effeminate habits of the *Zerbini* (fops), the scandal talked by the women, and the prejudices of the vulgar. Less serene is the work of Bartolomeo Dotti and Gianfrancesco Businello. The former was born at Brescia in 1651; passed most of his stormy career in Venice, where he made many powerful enemies by his satirical writings; was frequently imprisoned, assaulted, and wounded, and finally, on the night of January 27,

wrote in Venetian dialect, and Perazzo Domenici, author of the beginning of a translation of the *Gerusalemme* into Venetian.

[1] Medin, *La St. della R. di Ven. nella poesia*, cit., Chaps. VII, VIII, IX.

[2] See the popular *Avventure di Bertoldo e Bertoldino* by the Bolognese Giulio Cesare Croce. There was also the author of the *Avventure di Cacasenno*, Adriano Banchieri, called Scaligero, of Fratta del Polesine.

1713, was murdered by unknown assassins. Businello, who flourished during the first half of the Seicento, was a lawyer of repute and writer of satires which illustrate certain sides of Venetian life.[1]

In prose we have empty treatises on theology and jurisprudence, heavy in style and in bulk; tedious essays in criticism, Lenten lectures, eulogies, funeral orations, packed with delirious metaphors and similes. The novels and romances were numerous. The allegorical style, cultivated in the Cinquecento chiefly by Franco and Parabosco, still found imitators like the tiresome Giovanni Palazzi, author of the *Virtù in giuoco*, in which he mentions some of the more notable ladies of Venice.[2] Cervantes had by this time become popular with the fair sex; so too Tirso de Molina and their imitators, and many translations appeared in Venice.[3] Among French writers d'Urfè, Barclay, Gomberville, La Calprenéde, and Scudéry[4] were much in vogue.

The novels of the Venetians Loredano, Brusoni, Marcantonio Nali, Niccolò Maria Corbelli, Teodoro Mioni, Giambattista Bertanni, Bartolomeo Burchelati, and Gianfrancesco Biondi of Lesina in Dalmatia, had great success in Italy, and found many imitators. More pleasing is the *Arcadia in Brenta* of Giovanni Sagredo (1616–1694). He was a patrician of the highest standing and

[1] Neither Gamba nor Mazzucchelli gives the precise dates of Businello's birth and death. Mazzucchelli has a long notice of Businello in his *Scrittori d'Italia*, Vol. II, Part IV, p. 2454. Brescia, 1763. In 1659 Businello was in *villeggiatura* to recover from the gout.

[2] *La virtù in giocco, overo dame patritie di Venezia famose per nascita, per lettere, per armi, per costumi, stampate da Giovanni Parè libraio all' insegna della Fortuna.* Venetia, 1681. The little volume deals with a pack of cards of which there is a specimen in the Museo Civico. Each card, blank on the back, represents either the likeness or some episode in the life of a Venetian lady. The aces show allegories of Venice. The upper part of each card has a hendecasyllable verse referring to the subject engraved on the card.

[3] Marchesi, *Per la storia della novella italiana*, cit., pp. 11 et seq.

[4] Albertazzi, *Romanzi e romanzieri*, cit., pp. 151, 153 et seq.

very nearly became doge; he wrote learned volumes, quickly forgotten; all that survives of him is this charming story, the work of his youth.

Fra Paolo Sarpi's *Storia del Concilio di Trento* displays lively and vigorous art in its style and composition; his prose is bare of ornament but concentrated and condensed, in strong contrast with the prevailing florid manner. Andrea Morosini (1557–1618), a man of great weight in his day and historiographer to the Republic,[1] has left us a Latin account of the events which took place between 1521 and 1615. Battista Nani (1616–1678) also held the post of historiographer, and continued Morosini's work down to 1671. Nor was Pietro Garzoni (1645–1735) a mean historian. That lucidity of expression which implies vigour of thought is to be found in the *Relazioni* of the ambassadors; but the rude simplicity of the chronicle or the diary was foreign to this age, and we find few and unimportant specimens of this style; the chronicle of Gian Carlo Sivos, which goes down to 1621, is best worth mentioning.

The literature of the stage, which in Italy had not encountered that success which the comedies of Machiavelli, Ariosto, and Aretino, and the pastorals of Tasso and Guarini seemed to promise, fell rapidly into decay. While England produced Shakespeare; France, Molière, Corneille, and Racine; Spain, Calderon and Lope de Vega, — Venice has nothing to show but poverty-stricken, pastoral fables like those of Francesco Contarini and Giambattista Bertanni, imitated from the *Pastor Fido* and the *Aminta*, and a tragedy or two from the pen of Cardinal Giovanni Dolfin, whose work

[1] Morosini's three successors in the post, Niccolò Contarini, Paolo Morosini, and Jacopo Marcello, left no writing. Then we come to Battista Nani, who was succeeded by Michele Foscarini and Pietro Garzoni, who deal with the Turkish wars down to the Peace of Passarowitz. The last three historiographers of the Republic, Marco Foscarini, Niccolò and Francesco Donà, wrote nothing on the history of Venice.

is not quite so deplorably poor as that of Sebastiano Loredano and Niccolò Crasso. The *Commedia dell' arte* always retained a certain freshness and vivacity, and gained by being transferred from the out-of-door stage to the theatre; but the sparkling dialogue improvised by the actors too often degenerated into extravagance, buffoonery, and obscenity. Little by little words, under the excessive strain put upon them, came to lose their value and remained merely as sounds. The sonorous phrase soon passed into the melody of song, and music became the Italian art *par excellence*.

In music Venice held the leading place throughout the Seicento. Claudio Monteverde of Cremona (1557-1643), summoned in 1613 to the direction of the Choir of San Marco, and Giacomo Carissimi, a Venetian (1600-1690), moulded the rigid forms of liturgical music into the feeling and form of dramatic music.[1] The period of development is marked by a whole series of masters either Venetian by birth or by residence and training, like Francesco Cavalli, Marcantonio Cesti, Carlo Pallavicino, Giovanni Legrenzi, Francesco Sacrati, Domenico Gabrielli, Domenico Freschi, Carlo Grossi, Marcantonio and Pierandrea Ziani, Carlo Francesco Pollarolo, Giovanni Rovetta, Giovanni Varischino, Antonio Sartori, Giovanni Maria Ruggeri, and, lastly, Antonio Lotti and Antonio Caldara, who belong to the Settecento and mark a period of transition. In church music we recognise a power which seems to foretell the Psalms of Marcello; and stage music begins its upward career towards the modern opera. Already the words and the music had been fused and moulded together into one harmonious and organic whole, though there

[1] Wiel, *I cod. musicali contariniani del sec. XVII nella Bibl. Marciana.* Venezia, 1888. Kretzschmar, *Die Venetianische Oper und die Werke Cavalli's und Cesti's* (in the *Vierteljahrsschrift für Musikwissenschaft*, Jahrg. 1, 1892. See also Goldschmidt, *Studien zur Geschichte der italienischen Oper im 17 Jahrhundert.* Leipzig, 1901, and the bibliography at the end of the book.

BENEDETTO MARCELLO — from an XVIII century engraving

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still remains the contrast between the nobility of the music and the poverty-stricken phrases and action of the *libretto*.

But the development of the art did not continue steadily throughout the next century, and whereas Germany, France, and England evolved a school of severe and high-pitched music, Italy remained content with the gross materialism of the burlesque opera in which Naples took the lead. In all its grandeur, but still alone and isolated, the genius of Benedetto Marcello (1686–1739) asserts itself and finds the way to expressing the divine word through the medium of sound; but he created no school worthy of such a master, though the old traditions were not wholly deceased. The schools of the various hospitals gave to Europe the prototype of a conservatoire, and Giuseppe Tartini, from Pirano in Istria, opened a celebrated school for the violin at Padua under the auspices of the Republic; almost all the music in Italy was printed at Venice, and Baldassare Galuppi, called the Buranello, Bertoni, Vivaldi, Pescetti, Trento, and Furlanetto were ingenious composers.

The eighteenth century, which marks a halt in the development of the Venetian school of music, is the period of revival in all the other arts; it is sufficient to quote the three names Marcello, Tiepolo, Goldoni, to grasp the fact. The period made glorious by these three great masters revived the taste in art and set the human spirit upon new paths. And this renaissance in art appeared as a kind of compensation for the surrounding ruin in social and political life, and the decline of all martial qualities. The healthy tone began to penetrate even the academies. The *Animosi* were erected into an academy in 1691, and their chief adornment was Apostolo Zeno (1668–1750), a good melodramatic poet, precursor of Metastasio, a profound student, precursor of Muratori. When the *Animosi* ceased to exist in 1724,

another club, called the *Società Albrizziana*, after its founder, Almorò Albrizzi, took their place. The Academy of *Matematica e Fisica* counted Bernardino Zendrini, the great hydrostatician, as a member; the *Planomaci* reckoned among its numbers Marco Foscarini (1695–1763), the illustrious Doge. The *Medico-chirurgica*, founded in 1760, devoted itself with profit to scientific studies. The agricultural schools, instituted by the Republic, in some cities of the mainland found a warm supporter in Antonio Zanon (1696–1795), and proved of service. The *Società dei quaranta dotti*, the most illustrious of these societies at that time in Italy, was created at Verona by Anton Maria Lorgna, colonel of the State militia, and governor of the military college in his native city. The Academy of the *Granelleschi*, founded in Venice in 1747, aware of the absurdities to which the academic tradition must expose them, endeavoured to correct the exaggerated emphasis of style by recalling writers to the earlier Tuscan models.[1] Nor can we ignore the benefits conferred by the Arcadians, who soon had a colony in Venice; their first efforts were intended as a reaction against the literary taste of the Seicento, but they rapidly degenerated into another defect of style by substituting for the bombastic and

[1] The Academy of the *Granelleschi* elected as president a silly and vain priest, by name Giuseppe Sacchellari. At the meetings the unlucky priest, under the title of Arcigranellone, was seated in an uncomfortable armchair, said to have belonged to Cardinal Bembo; his brow was crowned with bay and lettuce, and round his neck they hung a great iron chain. In summer time they served the members with ices, but to "the Prince of the Academy" they brought a cup of tea boiling hot; and in winter, when the others drank coffee, the poor priest had to take a glass of ice-cold water. The badge of the Granelleschi was an owl with two ears of corn in its claws. Carlo Gozzi, *Mem. inut.*, I, 246 et seq. Farsetti, *Mem. dell' Accademia Granellesca*. Treviso, Trento, 1799. Gamba, *Dell' Accademia dei Granelleschi* (in the paper *Il Borghini*, 2d year, 1864, p. 149). Zardo, *Un' Accademia antigoldoniana* (*Rass. Naz.* Firenze, March 1, 1907). We possess the *Atti Granelleschi* in print; they begin in 1760, and were suspended by the Riformatori di Padova in the following year on the ground of the violent literary quarrels in which the members indulged.

flowery the nerveless and flaccid. But under this apparently harmless cloak of literary frivolity there lay hidden new principles of liberty, allied to the lodges of the Free Masons, who availed themselves of these harmless reunions, said to exist for the innocent purpose of literary discussion and the exchange of views.[1]

The most flourishing trade was the printer's, which maintained its high traditions. Venetian type was to be found all over Italy, and the printer-publishers Coletti,[2] Baglioni, Basegio, Albrizzi, Zane, Zatta, Pasquali, Occhi, Pavini, Bettinelli, Colombani Remondini of Bassano, and others,[3] were well known to the literary

[1] The so-called *Confederazione Annoverese* was of this nature. It changed its name to that of *Colonia Delfico Adelfia*. We have studied the statutes and the innocent correspondence in the Widmann-Rezzonico Archives. Luigi Widmann was named "Secretary of State of the *Inclita federazione Annoverese nei dipartimenti di Zaven* (Venezia).

[2] "M. Antoine Coleti au pont S. Moyse et ses trois frères, sont les plus savans libraires de l'Europe." De La Lande, *Voy.*, cit., VII, 69.

[3] The following is a list of the printers of the XVII and XVIII centuries: Albrizzi (Gerolamo, Giambattista, Almorò, 1693–1774); Baglioni (Tommaso, Paolo, Eredi, 1608–1774); Bettinelli (Giuseppe, Tommaso, G. Batt., Nicolò, Francesco, 1731–1774); Bassaglia (Pietro, Gianmaria, Leonardo, 1730–1782); Bortoli (Giov., Giacomo, Camillo, Antonio, Giuseppe, Girolamo, Francesco, 1654–1781; Baseggio (Lorenzo, Nicolò, Giacomo, 1711–1794); Coletti (Sebastiano, Nicolò, 1719–1795); Caroboli (Giacomo, † 1783); Colombani (Paolo, 1760–1774); Corona (Spinardo, Giuseppe, Domenico, 1676–1774); Fenzo (Modesto, Giuseppe, Nicolò, 1738–1784); Graziosi (Antonio); Locatelli (Antonio, Francesco, Bartolomeo, Giambattista, Giuseppe, 1742–1786); Lovisa (Domenico, Giuseppe, 1701–1774); Manfrè (Giov., Marcantonio, Giovanni, 1680–1784); Novelli (Giambattista, 1756–1784); Occhi (Bortolo, Domenico, Simone, Antonio, Giovanni, Andrea, Simone, etc., 1712–1784); Pezzana (Nicolò, Zuanne, Lorenzo, Nicolò, Francesco, Antonio, etc., 1667–1794); Pitteri (Francesco, Giuseppe, 1728–1784); Pasquali (Giambattista, Giuseppe, Giovanni, Pietro, etc., 1733–1790); Pasinello (Angelo, 1749–1774); Poletti (Andrea, Giandomenico, Pietro, Orazio, Giuseppe, 1680–1774); Recanati (Bortolo, Giambattista, Ludovico, 1719–1774); Remondini (Giannantonio, Giambattista, Giuseppe, 1697–1794; in 1759 they had 18 presses in Bassano); Savioni (Giambattista, Gerolamo, Pietro, Domenico, 1668–1784, printer-publisher); Storti (Francesco, Gasparo, Francesco, Giacomo, etc., 1653–1784); Valvasense (Francesco, Domenico, Alvise, Stefano, Pietro, 1644–1784); Zatta (Alessandro, Antonio, Giacomo, 1663–1784); Zerletti (Girolamo, Pietro, 1774–1817). This list is taken from the *Catalogus amplissimus latino-italicus librorum omnium qui e prelis typographorum Venetorum exierunt Anno 1774.* MS. Marciano Cl. VII. ital. Cod. 2099.

world. There were rich libraries in the palaces of Giancarlo Grimani, of the Contarini, the Tiepolo, the Ruzzini, the Farsetti, the Giustinian, the Trevisan, and others. Monastery libraries, such as those of San Giorgio, SS. Giovanni e Paolo, Sant' Antonio di Castello, San Salvatore, San Michele di Murano,[1] were enriched; at Padua, in 1629, a university library was founded; the Marciana grew, thanks to the liberality of the government and of private individuals, and could boast such honorary presidents as Lorenzo Tiepolo, Marco Foscarini, Alvise Mocenigo, and Girolamo Grimani, and such librarians as Anton Maria Zanetti and Jacopo Morelli.

The Venetian government, which is often accused of having made silence one of its fundamental principles, as a matter of fact allowed free circulation to the broadsheets which published the talk of the hour. The *Notizie* and the *Avvisi*, which, even as early as the opening of the sixteenth century, used to be read aloud at certain places in the city for the information of the public, who paid a *gazzetta*[2] for the privilege, and Aretino's *Giudizi*, published at the beginning of each year and as public events called for them, were the true precursors of the modern journal. After the middle of the seventeenth century we find in Italy for the first time genuine literary journals, much like the *Journal des Sçavans*, which appeared in France in 1665. But these early efforts at journalism in Venice were wretched and hardly worth mentioning; the *Giornale* came out at intervals between 1671 and 1689, while the *Galleria di Minerva* ran from 1696 to 1717. The *Giornale dei Letterati* (1710–1740), inspired by the genius of Apostolo Zeno, responded better to the new culture, which was

Codex Cicogna 3044 at the Museo Civico contains an *Elenco di stampatori e librari veneti dal 1469–1857*, arranged in approximate chronological order with approximate dates.

[1] *La Biblioteca Marciana nella sua nuova sede*. Venezia, 1906.

[2] Issued in 1535, originally a silver coin, but eventually of copper.

calling for that facile form of literature embracing science, letters, and arts, and it was soon followed by the *Mercurio storico* (1718–1773), the *Foglietti letterari* (1723–1726), published by Almorò Albrizzi, the *Gazzetta delle Gazzette*, the *Influssi*, the *Foglio per le donne*, the *Diario* of Cristoforo Zane (1735), the *Europa letteraria* (1768–1773), published by Domenico and Elisabetta Caminèr, the *Biblioteca Moderna* (1762–1765), the *Giornale Enciclopedico* (1774–1782), the *Annali della città di Venezia*, published by Albrizzi, the *Giornale di medicina* of Dr. Orteschi, and lastly the *Frusta*, of "Aristarco Scannabue," which Baretti began to publish in Venice towards the close of 1763.

But the first to give the form and appearance of a modern journal was Gaspare Gozzi, with his *Gazzetta*, the *Mondo morale*, and the *Osservatore Veneto*. The *Gazzetta* was published in 1760, under the editorship of Pietro Marcuzzi; it appeared twice a week — on Wednesdays and Saturdays; the annual subscription was a sequin, and a single number cost five soldi. The heading of the paper showed an ape rampant, with the motto *ipse alimento sibi*. The office of the *Gazzetta* was at San Polo, near the Calle Cà Bernardo, *porta sola con campanella*, and it had four bureaux where subscriptions and news were received, — Florian's coffee-house at San Marco, the coffee-house on the Riva del Vin, Colombani's Library in the Merceria, and Faccheri's stationer's shop at San Giovanni in Bragora. These bureaux were later reduced to two, Florian's and Colombani's. Political news was excluded from the *Gazzetta*, which contained only the city news and anecdotes and stories, true or invented. It had a brief life, little more than a year, and came to an end in January, 1761. Nor did the *Osservatore Veneto*, which Gozzi began to issue weekly through Colombani, last any longer. It appeared first on February 4, 1761, and came to an end on January 30, 1762. Gozzi, in imitation of Addison's

"Spectator," filled his paper with witty observations, Lucianesque dialogues, stories, novels, allegorical visions, and gay tales. In Gozzi delicacy of sentiment is coupled with strong intelligence. His *Sermoni* are models of pungent but not malicious satire, while his *Difesa di Dante* against the irreverent *Lettere Virgiliane* of Bettinelli marks the return to good taste and the love of the classics.

Gaspare's younger brother Carlo (1722–1806) was of a more restless, combative, satirical temperament; he was original, cultured, devoted to the past, and hated all novelty. Venice, indeed, at this time was so rich in geniuses that many of those now forgotten if living to-day would enjoy a high repute. On the whole the patriciate seemed composed of narrow-minded, poor-spirited little souls, but there were exceptions, like Paolo Renier and Andrea Tron; others, like Francesco Foscari, Francesco Pesaro, and Francesco Donà,[1] were not merely liberal patrons of learning, but themselves dealt learnedly with ethics, philosophy, art, and letters. Angelo Maria Quirini, Bishop of Brescia, Gian Agostino and Gian Girolamo Gradenigo, and Pier Antonio Zorzi wrote treatises on theology and liturgy; Marco Barbaro and Pietro Mocenigo dealt with jurisprudence and political and social reforms; Jacopo Nani, a brave seaman, discoursed on the art of war; Bernardo Trevisan on hydraulics; Lorenzo Patarol with archæology and philology. Marco Foscarini compiled his history of Venetian literature; Vettor Sandi wrote the civil, and Carlo Marin the commercial history of the State; Flaminio Corner collected precious material for the history of the churches and monasteries of Venice and Torcello; the Doge Grimani and Tomaso Giuseppe Farsetti wrote

[1] Foscari caused to be compiled and published by Biagio Ugolini no less than thirty-four volumes of the *Thesaurus antiquitatum* and subsidised Galand's *Bibliotheca veterum patrum*. Pesaro commissioned Morelli to edit Bembo's *Storia veneta*. Donà transcribed the fifty-eight volumes of Sanudo's *Diari*.

elegantly in prose and verse; Zaccaria Valaresso, comedies that won applause; Lodovico Flangini translated passages of Plato and Apollonius Rhodius; Andrea Memmo composed dissertations on architecture; the Abbé Conti, born at Padua but belonging to the Venetian patriciate, was held in esteem as a man of science and of letters by the most illustrious men of his day, not only in Italy but in France, England, and Germany.

Among the writers who did not belong to the patriciate but who were either born or passed their lives in Venice, we need mention only the more famous: Giammaria Ortes, who left his mark on economic studies; Francesco Algarotti, the graceful writer on art, science, and literature; Giacomo Casanova, whose Memoirs, though exaggerated, still retain the true atmosphere of Venice in the Settecento; the Franciscan Carlo Lodoli, an authority on architecture but not so sound as Tomaso Temanza, Anton Maria Zanetti, and Giannantonio Moschini, the latter of whom also wrote the history of Venetian literature in the eighteenth century; Jacopo Filiasi, who left a learned work on the early Venetians. Giovanni degli Agostini wrote the *Vite degli scrittori Veneziani* from 1074 to 1591; Giambattista Gallicciolli, the *Memorie venete sacre e profane;* Giovanni Meschinello, the history of the Marciana; Francesco Griselini, the life of Sarpi; Boerio, the Dictionary of Venetian dialect. Among others who won a name were three priests of the Coletti family, Anselmo Costadoni, Andrea Rubbi, Giambenedetto Mitterelli, Francesco Antonio Zaccaria, Francesco Negri, Anton Federico Seghezzi, Sante della Valentina. Science furnished the illustrious Giovanni Poleni (1683–1761), who formulated the principles of modern hydraulics; Giovanni Crivelli, Girolamo Barbarigo, Giuseppe Maria Canini, the mathematician Giambattista Nicolai, Francesco Griselini the botanist; Tomaso Temanza, who wrote on art and also on hydraulics; Giovan Maria Selva, an authority on optics;

Vincenzo Dandolo, chemist and physicist; Lodovico Zucconi, who, like Vincenzo Miotti of Murano, was an excellent astronomer. We may omit the names of other distinguished Venetians, as we are not dealing with Venetian scientific and literary culture except in so far as it throws light on Venetian social life; but we must remark that Venice became the home, for a longer or shorter period, of many distinguished strangers, such as Bernardo Maria de Rubeis, theologian to the State; Giacomo Stellini, the philosopher; Scipione Maffei, Baretti, Angelo Calogerà, Gasparo Patriarchi, the two Pindemonte and the two Forcellini, Bettinelli, Frugoni, Biagio Schiavo, Natale dalle Laste, and Jacopo Vittorelli, to whose mellifluous anacreontics the sonorous verses of Melchiorre Cesarotti formed a kind of antidote in his translation of Ossian.

In the midst of this varied and active intellectual movement Italian poetry, save in the verses of Gaspare Gozzi and some few other not mere vulgar rhymesters, presents itself in artificial and ridiculous guise; odes on weddings or on the taking of the veil, on the death of an excellency, on the birth of a noble heir; madrigals; anacreontics inspired by a patrician lady's shoe, or patch, or dog, by a mouse, by a spoon, or a chocolate mill. The sole merit of all this verse lies in the elegant editions in which it appeared, adorned with figures, *amorini*, and borders, all breathing the exquisite decorative taste of the Settecento. To lash this crew of poetasters modelled on Frugoni, nothing short of Baretti's terrible scourge could avail. But, on the other hand, vernacular poetry was full of grace and simplicity; it is in the Settecento that it reaches its greatest perfection, although not even now did the native land of Goldoni produce a poet who could mould the softest and sweetest of Italian dialects with the art displayed by Carlo Porta when handling Milanese. Goldoni himself wrote verse in the vernacular and often with *brio*,

Gaspare Gozzi — from an engraving by Bartolozzi

but, taken altogether, his poetry is not worth a single scene in one of his comedies. Two patrician priests, Angelo Maria Labia and Angelo Maria Barbaro, wrote with vigorous indignation, attacking the follies of their day; the verses of Giorgio Baffo were spontaneous enough, though debased by gross obscenity; Gian Giacomo Mazzolà's sonnets on Nina's tresses are sweet, though flowery; fresh and gay the dithyrambs of Lodovico Pastò; exquisitely polished the apologues of Francesco Gritti; artistic to the highest degree the *Stagioni* of Lamberti; rich in imagination and in wit the poems of Pietro Buratti. Some of the verses of Gritti and Buratti are the most perfect and spontaneous to be found in the whole range of Venetian poetry, while Lamberti's songs carry off the palm for delicacy.

Dialect continued to hold its own in political and legal oratory, which is far removed from the pompous oratory of the pulpit. Gianfrancesco Loredano says of a certain father Antenori, who thundered from the pulpit of San Zaccaria: "he delights, convinces, persuades, and his sweet tyranny produces miracles with his tongue."[1] We may measure the style of the praised by that of the praiser! Pulpit oratory in Venice was no better in the Settecento, though less pompous. Giannantonio Moschini declares that the city cannot boast a single preacher of merit.[2] Venetian eloquence, in fact, was more at home in dialect, or that language which resembles dialect and is used with such effect by ambassadors in their *Relazioni* and in the political addresses of men like Marco Foscarini, Paolo Renier, and Pietro Grimani, Ascanio Giustinian, Andrea Tron, Alvise Contarini, and during the last dark and dangerous days, by Francesco Pesaro, Francesco Battagia, and Zaccaria Vallaresso.

The law courts were another field for eloquence; in

[1] Loredano, *Lett.*, cit., I, 44.
[2] Moschini, *Lett. ven.*, III, 4.

the Seicento we have such advocates as Giovannandrea Resio, Niccolò Crasso, Marino dall' Angelo, Gianfrancesco Businello, Andrea Garzoni, Lazzaro Ferro, and others[1]; and in the Settecento Cesare Santonini, Angelo Vecchia, Sebastiano Uccelli, Antonio Zanchi, Carlo Cordellina, Giuseppe Fossati, Milano Milani, Andrea Svario, Giuseppe Alcaini, Tomaso Gallino, Giambattista Cromer, and others.[2] The pleadings, made in dialect, had all the warmth and colour of improvisations; and in arguing the point the lawyers grew heated, raised their voices, and gesticulated violently.[3] Goethe describes in lively colours the eloquence of Venetian lawyers,[4] and more recent writers affirm that the Venetian bar enjoyed an ancient renown[5]; others, however, are of opinion that Venice has left no traces of legal eloquence, and attribute this to the use of dialect,[6] which Alfieri declares to be lacking in nobility and dignity. But if it be true that we find no traces of forensic eloquence among the Venetians, we must attribute this not to the use of dialect but to the neglect of Roman law, which is and always will be the basis of jurisprudence. In Venice Roman law had no legal authority, not even supplementary; its sole weight was theoretical.

Undoubtedly the greatest literary glory of Venice during the eighteenth century was the theatre. Throughout the Seicento public taste had run to music; but in the following century the drama began to claim attention. There was, however, at first no sure criterion, for we find in 1714 that the public applauded equally Scipione Maffei's *Merope* and Lazzarini's *Ulisse il*

[1] Doglioni, *Le cose notab. e marav.*, cit., p. 318.
[2] Moschini, *Lett. ven.*, III, 32, 33.
[3] De La Lande, *Voy.*, cit., VII, 18. Baretti (*Gl'It.*, cit., p. 95) blames *l'infuriare, le contorsioni e le grida* of Venetian lawyers.
[4] Goethe, *Ital. Reise*, cit.
[5] Sclopis, *St. della Legisl. it.*, II, 562. Paravia, *L'Eloquenza dei venez.* Torino, 1855. Giuriati, *Arte forense*, p. 28. Torino, 1878.
[6] Zanardelli, *L'avvocatura*, p. 41. Roma, 1870.

Carlo Goldoni — from a very rare XVIII century engraving

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giovane, a miserable imitation of the *Œdipus Rex*. Zaccaria Vallaresso parodied Lazzarini's play in his *Rutzvanschad, arcisopratragichissima tragedia*, given on February 7, 1733. The pathetic, borrowed from France, began to take the place of the original and native vulgarity. The Abbé Pietro Chiari (1711–1783) adopted the style, and his comedies are stuffed with lady philosophers, disguises, nuns carried off from their convents, escalades, and midnight encounters. Goldoni, though quite alive to the poverty and falseness of this art, very nearly let himself be carried away by the prevailing taste; fortunately the concept of his native genius won the day and, in spite of envy, jealousy, struggles, and sufferings he calmly pursued his one true object, — that of recalling comedy to actual life. Carlo Gozzi, who hated equally Goldoni, whose simplicity seemed to him vulgarity, and Chiari, with his bombast, took the field against both in defence of the purely native theatre, the *Commedia dell' arte*, and thus started the polemic in which all Venice took part. In 1757 Carlo Gozzi published a kind of almanac, *La Tartana degli influssi*, a bitter personal satire on Goldoni; he then brought out his *Fiabe*, in which dialectical prose and heroic verse are strangely mixed; part was written, part improvised, and he pungently satirises both Goldoni and Chiari.

The public, which is always fickle, after having applauded Goldoni's Comedies, welcomed with equal enthusiasm Gozzi's *Fiabe*, and went into ecstasy over all the strange happenings, speaking beasts, birds, doors, and cords, enchanted forests, fays, magicians, serpents, halls studded with jewels, and palaces of solid gold. But it was too late to check the rise of Goldoni, who infused the comic theatre with the young blood of a new age, — an age of activity, expansion, and warmth, which roused the brain and touched the heart.

CHAPTER XIV

THE END OF THE REPUBLIC

PAOLO RENIER, after having reigned for ten years, died on February 18, 1789; but in order not to disturb the *fêtes* of Carnival time, his death was concealed till March 2, in Lent. He was not regretted; his greed for honours and for gold was excessive; but he truly loved his country and applied his acute intelligence in forestalling dangers. He raised a warning voice in the Great Council and expressed his forebodings that the fate of Poland was in store for the Republic. He found few to share his alarm lest Venice should be exposed to the agitations which already shook France; though even in Venice some among the upper classes had begun to embrace the new ideas, and Freemasonry was spreading all through the State and preparing the way for change.

The clouds which hung over France did not escape the eye of the Venetian ambassador, and Antonio Cappello in 1788 warned his compatriots not to isolate themselves from other nations, but to seek alliances, "for a State which is on good terms with other States receives more consideration and is better guaranteed against injuries." The Cabinet did not even take the trouble to communicate this warning to the Senate, so careless or so deluded were they; the sole step the government took was to forbid booksellers to circulate subversive works, the comedians to use phrases which might rouse sinister apprehensions, and the coffee-houses to become meeting-places for free discussion.

On March 9, 1789, Lodovico Manin was elected Doge, and on May 5 the French Revolution began with the assembling of the States General at Versailles. Venice was not alarmed. The government held that their unarmed neutrality would protect them from any attack, and rejected as rash the proposals of Francesco Pesaro and others, who urged an armed, not an unarmed neutrality. Not even when Napoleon's cannon was thundering at Millesimo and Montenotte were more vigorous measures taken. The oldest government in Europe could not yet believe that she would be engulfed by the Revolution. France, who declared war on kings, confirmed her constant friendship to the Republic, her elder sister; the fidelity of the population was secure; the fleet one of the strongest then on the seas; all danger from the Turk at an end.

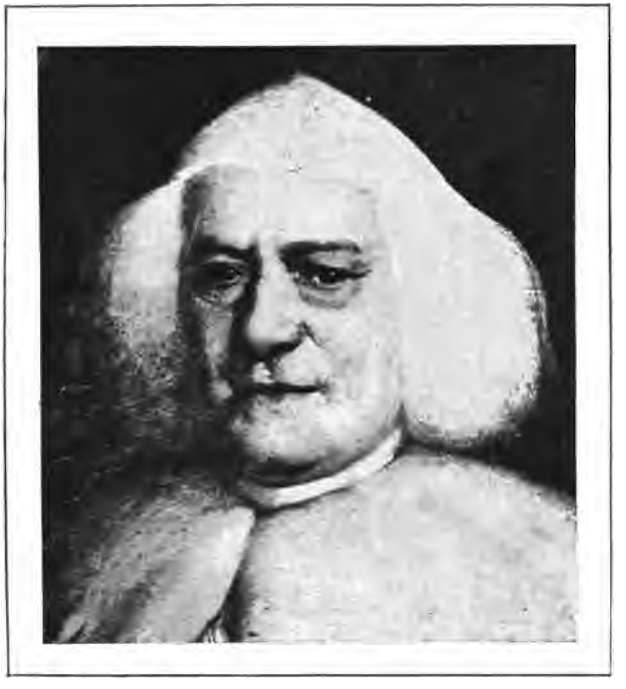
Thus between insidious traps and unforeseen surprises the day arrived in which, being unable to offer any resistance, Venice had to submit to insults and injuries. The territory of the Republic became the field of battle for the Austrian and the French armies; her chief cities were occupied by Bonaparte, who was constantly seeking fresh excuses for quarrelling with the Republic. Bergamo, Brescia, and Crema were incited to revolt by French agents, and the few but bold partisans of democracy; the natives of the territories which remained faithful despaired of any help in the unequal contest. It was still possible to preserve Venice intact inside the circle of her lagoons. Giacomo Nani drew up a scheme for the defence of the islands and the *lidi*. He was spared the pain of seeing his country fall by death, which overtook him thirty-eight days before the final collapse. On board the fleet there were still to be found men capable of repelling an assault; Domenico Pizzamano, for example, repulsed a French ship which was endeavouring to enter the lagoons, and slew her captain Laugier. The city was well garrisoned by the

Dalmatian troops, a brave and trustworthy race; the people, at the call of their leaders, would certainly have rushed to arms.

The anxiety in Venice in face of pressing dangers and misfortunes is vividly described in the letters of a member of the Lippomano family,[1] one of the few who, in obedience to a generous impulse, urged the government to react against its oppressors and to abandon its policy of concessions and diplomatic subterfuges. "If we must perish, let us perish as men, not as swine! One must be a complete nonentity, such as we are, to put up with every insult." So said Lippomano, though he seems to have thought better of his advice when he asked himself whether it was possible to go to war with France, whether a rising of the people would not have merely caused useless bloodshed, and whether the time had not come to bow the head before Napoleon. On April 29, 1797, Lippomano writes, "The tragedy is approaching," and in fact Bonaparte had made it clear that he intended to upset the State.

In these straits the patricians at the head of affairs, fearing to risk their lives, abandoned all idea of resistance, but did not despair of mollifying the haughty foreigner by humility and flattery. On April 30, 1797, the Signory, the Savii, the chiefs of the Ten, and other leading magistrates, fearing to irritate Napoleon by summoning the Senate, gathered in terror round the terrified Doge, who replied to the menaces of invasion by the notorious phrase: "To-night we are not sure of sleeping in our own beds." Francesco Pesaro and Antonio Cappello still urged resistance and attacked the cowardly nobles, but it was resolved to change the constitution. Bonaparte, who as early as April 18 had secretly sold Venice to Austria in the treaty of Leoben, now refused to come to any terms whatever, and on May 1 declared war on the Republic.

[1] Quirini-Stampalia, Cl. VII, cod. 78, quoted by Kovalevsky in *La fin d'une aristocratie*, trad. Turin, 1901.



PORTRAIT of the Doge Paolo Renier, by Pietro Longhi ? . (In a private collection)

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On May 12, 1797, the Great Council met for the last time, and the Doge Manin, bursting into tears and committing himself to the divine will, moved that a provisional representative government should be appointed. The number of patricians present was five hundred and thirty-seven, whereas the law required at least six hundred. All were mute and downcast. "At the moment of going to the vote," so says Manin himself in his Memoirs, "some shots were heard which greatly alarmed us"; it was the faithful Dalmatian troops who had been disbanded and were saluting the city as they embarked to go home. In haste the vote by which the Council abdicated its sovereign power and abolished the patriciate was put to the Assembly. Only twenty voted against the sacrifice of their country; five abstained. The doors were thrown open and the patricians rushed out, most of them panic-struck, some indignant, some befooled, some traitors. There is a tale that when Manin had retired to his chamber to unrobe he took the cap of white linen which the Doges wore under the ducal bonnet, and handing it to his servant, said, "Take it away — I shall not need it any more." [1]

The cowardly resignation of Manin has robbed the last hours of the Republic of that reverential pity which attends misfortune. The Doge may claim our respect as an upright, mild, beneficent man; but as head of the State he merits the severest condemnation from all who appreciate the honour of their fatherland. His high office bound him to avoid dishonour, if not to acquire glory. Even Girolamo Dandolo, a mild judge, cannot help declaring that the Republic fell ingloriously, owing to Manin's exaggerated timidity and the cowardice of the councillors he had gathered about him; he adds that

[1] Manin's cap is still preserved in Casa Albrizzi at Sant' Apollinare. The servant to whom the Doge addressed the remark was a certain Bernardo Trevisan; in 1797 he gave the cap to the Vicar of San Moisè, Girolamo Griselini, who subsequently sold it to the Casoni family, from whom the Albrizzi acquired it.

had Paolo Renier lived and had he been able to avail himself of the counsels of Angelo Emo and Giacomo Nani, both of whom were already dead, Venice would have met a nobler end.[1] It was only his great wealth that had raised Manin to the throne in the fatal year 1789. This election, though welcomed by the people, was marked by certain ominous portents. It is said that on the announcement of the result Pietro Gradenigo of Rio Marin, descendant of the Pietro Gradenigo who founded the aristocratic government, exclaimed: "They 've elected a Friulan as Doge! Then it 's all up with the Republic." There was presage of disaster in the contempt expressed by this patrician of ancient lineage for the head of a noble family of the mainland hailing from Udine and only admitted to the patriciate in 1651. In Gradenigo's judgment, which certainly implied no slight on the brave people of Friuli, certain traditional qualities were required in the head of the State. But even the most nobly born among the patricians showed that they lacked the power to live to the height of their great name.

There were few who had the courage of Angelo Giustinian, Provveditore at Treviso, who replied to Bonaparte that he took orders from the Senate only; or that other Giustinian, by name Girolamo, who, following the example of the Doge Loredano at the time of Cambray, offered to send his two sons to the army and implored his fellow countrymen to arm in defence of their State. Few other examples of heroism break the heavy cloud which enveloped the patriciate. Even Francesco Pesaro, who frequently and courageously advised resistance and death with honour, lost all his spirit at the last and basely fled from his tottering fatherland, to which he still more basely returned as Imperial Commissioner after it had fallen. Manin was neither more guilty nor more timid than his fellow

[1] Dandolo, *La caduta della R. di V.*, cit., p. 82.

PORTRAIT of Lodovico Manin, the last Doge of Venice, by Castelli Bernadino. (Museo Civico)

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patricians. They were all, or almost all, weak and feeble, and quite incapable of taking a firm decision, but we may hope and believe that any other Venetian citizen, had he been placed in the position of Chief Magistrate, would have used less timid phrases than those which passed the lips of Manin. A phrase, like Pier Capponi's for example, may sometimes save the State, a single word is sometimes sufficient to discourage a whole city.

If it was inevitable that Venice must fall, it was certainly an imperative duty to bury her with decorum. To the tears and stammering of Manin, with his doubt whether he was safe in his own bed, to the cowardice of the nobles who at their last meeting signed the death-warrant of the State, the people replied with their ancient cry of "Viva San Marco!" The people, more courageous than their rulers, in vain demanded arms to repel the attack. And this cry of protest which burst from the breast of the people of Venice on the last day of the Republic was frequently repeated from the Alps of Friuli to the shores of Benacus, from the Adda to the coast of Dalmatia. Her subject lands, bound to her as much by affection as by force, sincerely mourned the Republic of Saint Mark, whose standard the people of Zara buried under the altar of their church; so did the people of Perasto, and thus paid it a tribute of honour which no ensign of a defunct government has ever hitherto received.

APPENDIX

DOCUMENTS

A — Inventarî

I

Die dominica prima mensis januarij 1644
dom^{i} ill^{mi} Capello de confinio s.i Vbaldi.

Inuentario delli orri, zogie, argenti, et mobili che sono in poter della ill^{ma} sig^{ra} Cecilia Contarini rel^{a} dello ill^{mo} sig. Francesco Capello, et sono quelli che al tempo della morte di quello essa si è ritrouata hauere.

Vn scritorio d'ebano rimesso con pietre lapis lazuli et altro.
Vn paro orecchini d'orro con christalli de montagna.
Vn paro detti smaltadi.
Vn anello d'orro con pietra diamante grande, era il suo del sposalitio.
Vna rosetta diamanti n. venticinque legati in orro.
Vn safir legato in orro.
Vna cadenella d'orro smaltada con pasta dentro.
Vn'altra detta di perle con botoni d'ambra.
Vn'altra piccola de filli quatro.
Vn'altra detta à mandola de mandole.
Vn tulipan d'orro smaltado.
Vn par de canalini d'orro.
Vn galan da ochio d'orro con pietre bianche sei et vna perla.
Aghi d^{a} testa d'orro schietti n. sette.
Aghi detti grandi con perle et pasta n. sette.
Aghi di corniola con sue couertine d'orro n. vndeci.
Aghi detti picoli d'ambra smaltadi n. dieci.
Manilli d'orro smaltadi para uno.
Aghi di christal n. disisette con coraletti sopra.
Vna veretta d'orro piccola si tien sotto il diamante.
Aghetti picoli d'argento de' diverse sorte n. disnove.
Pironi d'argento n. quatro.
Cuchiari d'argento n. quatro.
Ventoline diverse n. sette vecchie.
Vn paro di veste sguarde con suoi merli d'orro.
Vn par di sottocalze di camoza recamada.
Doi borse recamade.

In un armer de vesture:

Vna vestura de felpa cremesina con maniche.
Vna detta de veludo negra con maniche.
Vna detta di veludo rizzo nero con sue maniche.
Vna de veludin fondo raso nero con maneghe.
Vna detta de raso brocado nero con maneghe.
Vna detta de tartanella negra con maniche.

Vna detta de goton negra con maneghe.
Vna detta de tabin nero con sue maneghe.
Vna detta de ormesin nero con maneghe.
Vna detta spiumilgia nera con maneghe.
Vna detta ormesin zalo et bianco con maneghe.
Vna detta sguarda ormesin con maneghe.
Vna detta de cendado latesin, et bianco con maneghe.
Vna scarpetta sguarda d'ormesin con galoni n. quatordeci d'orro atorno.
Vna detta tabinetto verde con maniche.
Vna detta vecchia de veludo a più colori.
Vna detta de raso brocado color di perla con maneghe.
Vna detta veludin bianco fondi tabì con fiori doratti con maneghe.
Vna detta canevazetta turchina à merli vecchia con maneghe.
Vna detta tabì sguardo a opera con maneghe.
Vna detta canevazetta vecchia a fiori con maneghe.
Vn cotolo d'orro vecchio doratto con maneghe.
Vn paro di maniche sguarde recamate de galoncini.
Vn detto zalle recamate con galoncini d'argento.
Vn detto de tabinetto d'orro con fiori.
Vn detto de lastra fondi lata con pasamani d'orro in teler.
Vn detto de veludin d'orro fondi vinado.
Vna muda de stringhe negre e d'orro con pontali d'argento grandi n. trentatrè.
Vn'altra muda de stringhe recamade negre schiette con pontali d'argento picoli n. trentaotto.
Vn paro di balzanelle di raso cremesin recamade con galoncini.
Vn detto tabì latade recamade con galoncini.
Vn detto tabì latade recamade con canatini, granate, et perle.
Vn detto de raso color di perla a opera.
Vna maniza de veludin con oro fondi vino con merlo d'argento fodra di felpa sguarda.
Vna detta de felpa nera con doi merli d'argento fodrata di felpa verde.
Vna detta picola de veludo cremesin con quatro merli d'orro.
Cordella d'orro et argento larga braza n. disisette.
Frisi da maneghe due mude, uno con merli d'argento, et l'altro galoncin color di fogo.
Vna maniza de zanetti di Spagna.
Vna detta d'armelini.
Vna detta de conij.

Presentibus Benedicto Auogaro q^m^ Serafini et s^r^ Anibale de Venetijs q^m^ Joannis testibus uocatis et rogatis.

Die 3 januarij 1644 domi ut s^a^.

Segue l'auentario sopraditto.

Vna litiera di ferro dorata all' usanza con pomoli.
Stramazi di lana n. tre.
Pagiarizzi n. uno.
Cavazal n. uno.
Vna peteniera de veludo cremesin.
Camise da dona di renzo con cavezi et cordelle et di tella tra qui in Venetia, et fuori in villa di Strà, et in liscia n. quarantadoi.

Traverse de dona de diverse sorte sutille n. nove.
Vna detta de cambrà verde con cordelle et merli d'orro.
Vna detta a gasi con tella zalla.
Dette grosse usade n. dicisette.
Vn colar di ponto in aere da dona usado.
Velli vecchi con orro n. tredeci.
Maneghetti de diverse sorte con poco orro et senza, vechi, para n. otto.
Vn paro de maneghe de cambrà con striche de gasi.
Camise da omo usade di renso et tella n. cinquantaotto, compreso quelle che s'attrova fuori in liscia.
Fazoletti de diverse sorte con spianzi d'agiere usadi n. vinti.
Fazuoli de man compreso quelli in liscia et fuori n. trentasette.
Sotto braghesse di tella para n. quatro.
Comesetti bianchi n. doi.
Pezze de spale de renso n. sei.
Fazoletti diversi di tella, et raso usadi n. centodoi.
Lenzuoli con merli e cai sotilli usadi para n. quindeci e mezo, compreso quelli che sono in Lio et a Strà.
Tella nova pezi tre.
Tovalgioli con cai sotili n. centodoi.
Mantilli sotilli grandi e picoli schieti e lavoradi n. dodeci.
Tovalgie sotille n. quatordeci.
Tovalgioli sotilli lavoradi n. quindeci.
Tovalgia sotille lavorada una.
Intimelle sotilli lavorate n. ventisei, compreso quelle che sono in liscia et fuori.
Vna muda de cordoni de barca de filisello neri novi con fiochi.
Vna peza de robba de bavella da far coltrine.
Tovaglioli grossi da uso n. sessanta.
Lenzuoli grossi per famelgia para n. dodeci.
Mantilli detti da tavola n. tredici.
Credenciere grosse n. sei.
Doi coltre di seda una buona, et una uecchia.
Tovalgioli da famelgia n. vinti.
Mantilli de famelgia n. otto.
Tovaglie da man undeci.
Et questo è il fine di detto aventario.

Presentibus testibus supradis.

Ego Michael Angelus Renaldi.

(*Archivio Privato Mocenigo.*)

II

Anno 1677.

Inventario de' mobili del palazzo Cavalli a san Vitale.

In portico: Un fornimento di cuori d'oro usati.
Sei portiere di panno ricamate di panno et di raso con l'arma, et doi di cuoro.
Quaranta otto careghe di damaschetto verde con sue coperte.
Tre tavolini di noghera schietti.
Una tavola di noghera.
Un clavicembalo.
Quattro torciere dipinte a noghera
Li suoi frisi in portico et
Li suoi quadri sopra tutte le porte.
Sette quadri grandi nelli nichi del portico di mano uno di Langetti, altro del Mazzoni, altro del Rosa, altro del Vechia, altro del Zanchi, altro Nonciata dell'Ems, altro del Liberi.
Un'arma della casa.

Nel cameron della parte del rio sopra canal grande verso s. Marco:

Un fornimento di cuori d'oro a mandole.
Dodeci caregoni alti, grandi con pomoli, con figure intagliate, di velluto cremese, cordelle e franze d'oro.
Altre doi careghe di veluto cremese usade.
Un paro di chavedoni con suoi fornimenti.
Quadri sopra le porte con soaze dorate.
Otto quadri diversi tra grandi e piccoli de diversi pittori vechi e nuovi.
Una portiera di panno ricamata di raso.
Una tavola sive armaro con il suo tapedo sopra.
Petteniera d'ebano rimessa d'avolio con pietre.
Specchio grande d'un brazzo con soazza.
Li frisi di pitture a' torno la stanza.

Nell' armaro: Habiti per uso di sua eccellenza.
Una figura di tola con donna dipinta.

Nel cameron sopra il squero sopra canal grande: Li suoi frisi di pitture degl'antenati della casa.
Un fornimento di cuori d'oro a oselami.
Un paro di chavedoni con suoi fornimenti e fillo intagliato e dorato.
Doi paggietti di legno intagliati.
Una tavola sive armaro con cuoro sopra, nel quale eranvi gl'habiti dell'ill^ma^.

Sopra

Un scrigno d'hebano rimesso d'avorio, nel quale vi dovriano essere le gioie et ori dell'ill^ma^ sudetta infrasc^a^, cioè
Doi pera di perle pesano carati quaranta netti ; così estimati furono comprati per ducati mille seicento.
Altro paro di recchini di diamanti, doi grandi, et altri doi piccioli di sopra, et a torno diamanti trentatre, costorno in tutto ducati ottecento.

Una collana di perle numero cento quaranta nove, pesa carati duecento quaranta tre netti, costò ducati doi mille ottocento.
Una collana di pezzi ottanta di diamanti grandi e piccioli, costò ducati quattro mila e cinque cento.
Quattro bottoni di diamanti numero trentasei.
Un anello a mezzo dito con diamanti.
Un anello in tre pietre di diamanti stimato ducati cento e venti.
Un mazzo d'argironi.
Una vera d'oro da sposa.
Scudelin, vagina, ago e pontarol d'argento.
Quattro bozzette d'argento con specchio pure d'argento.
Un paro manili con perle e bottoni di ambra.
Un cordon d'oro a maglia.
Un paro manili d'oro smaltati.
Un paro recchini con graspi di perle e pietre.
Altro simile con peri d'ambra.
Dodeci caregoni di veluto cremese con brochoni e pomoli dorati.
Un armaro sive tavolino con tapeto sopra con dentro habiti dell'ill^mo signor Federico.

et sopra

Una petteniera riccamata cremese con bozzette quattro d'argento, et suoi fornimenti.
Un tavolin d'hebano rimesso d'avorio.
Un tavolinetto quadro da letto.
Un scabello d'hebano da ingenochiarsi con sopra una spinetina alla todesca con figure.
Una cuna di ferro dorata.
Quadri sopra le porte trè.
Una madona di devotione mezana.
Un specchio con soaze d'hebano.
Doi careghe di noghera impagliate.
Un forciereto da viaggio coperto di tela incerata rossa con entro coltre, panicelli, fustagni, panni, fascie et altra roba per servizio del fanciullo.
Altro simile più piccolo con robba suddetta.
Cassa d'albedo con entro drappi diversi sporchi e netti :

cioè :

Mantili da patron dieci.
Tovaglioli da patron quarantatrè.
Mantili da servitù diecinove.
Tovaglioli da servitù sessanta nove.
Pezze da man sessanta otto.

Altra cassa con entro :

Lenzuoli da patron para otto.
Mantili da patron diecisette.
Tovaglioli da servitù trentanove.
Tovaglioli grossi sedeci.
Pezze da man trentasei.
Mantili da servitù quatro.

Quali due casse erano bollate.

Nel camerin dredo dove dorme l'ill^mo : Fornimento di cuori d'oro.
Doi quadri sopra le porte et uno sopra il camino.
Un crocefisso da letto.
Una littiera d'oro con pomoli dorati con trabacca cremese, cusini, coperta e banchaletto, una felzada, un piumin, et una coltra, stramazzi tre ed un pagliazzo.
Un tavolinetto quadro da conzar la testa.
Altro deto per amaladi.
Armaro lungo dell'ill^ma.
Altro armereto coperto di bulgaro con entro robbe dell'ill^mo.
Doi forcteri di bulgaro brocadi con entro biancherie e robbe per uso dell'ill^ma.
Una cassa de noghera rimessa di radice con entro lenzuoli vechi para . . .
Quattro tappeti, doi longhi e doi quadri con sue coperte di velluto verde ricamate con galoni d'oro.
Diverse careghe di paglia.

Nel camerin di dietro che va in chiesiola : Diversi archi da ballotar.
Una mezza cassa di noghera con chiave.

Dopo di quello

Nella chiesiola : Tutti i suoi paramenti e fornimenti, calice e patena d'argento, candellieri di laton, et ogn' altra cosa necessaria.
Nel sopra letto delle donne : Un armaro grande con entro :
Doi cussini di felpa nera.
Doi cussini di damasco paonazzo.
Un tapedo da tavola vechio.
Et fiocchi et spaggi da barca grandi di seda e bavelle.
Un tavolin quadro da letto.
Una casseleta di cuoro con robbe dell'ill^ma.
Un armaro, sive casson con rodelle con entro drappi vecchi dell'ill^mo sig. Federico.
Un casson grande con entro :
Lenzuoli da patron para quatro
Detti da servitù para due
Et nelli letti para sei.
Altro casson con entro :
Mantili sutili dieci.
Detti grossi dieci.
Tovaglioli da patron sessanta.
Detti da servitù cinquanta.
Pezze cinquanta.
Altra cassa d'albedo con stramazzi della cuma e cussini diversi.
Un letto con un stramazzo et un pagliarizzo et cavazal, doi coltre, cavaletti e tolle.
Altra cassa di noghera con entro :
Lenzuoli da Patron para due.
Detti da servitù para cinque.

Scatola con cappa nera.
Una pezza di tella da camise.
Ud altro paro di lenzuoli da patron.
Detti da servitù para due e mezzo.
Altra cassa di noghera con entro :
Lenzuoli da patron sporchi para . . .
Detti da servitù para . . .
Con camise dell'ill^mo sig^r Federico, et camise dell'ill^ma.
Una cassetta d'albedo con robbe di cavalarizza.

Sotto la scala :

Una stagnada grande.
Una navicella di rame con la sua anima.

Nella camera sopra la corte che si faceva cucina :

Fornimento di razzi a figure vechi.
Una cassa di noghera rimessa di radice, che era bollata con entro si ritrovò:
Sette camise da putto.
Sotto braghesse para due, et un paro di fustagno.
Quattro faccioli da man vechi.
Quattro camise da donna vechie strazade.
Cinque tovagioli da servitù vechi.
Cinque pezze da man vechie.
Diverse straze di niun valore.
Un cendà nero vechio da testa dell'ill^ma vechia,
Et poche strazze di felze da barca.
Un casson d'albedo vechio vuoto con un tapedo sopra vechio.
Un altro detto era bollato, nel quale si ritrova :
Quastro telli di damasco cremesino per una coperta da tavola con franze a torno.
Due cussini di damasco cremesino
Coltrine quattro di cendà cremesino.
Quattro commissioni per reggimento fornite d'argento.
Un fornimento di cendali turchini con frizi et un stendardo.
Tre careghe di veluto zalo vechie.
Uno scagno vechio.
Un armaro lungo d'albedo con diverse bissinelle dell'ill^ma.
Una cassetta d'albedo con diversi pezzi di peltre.

Nel sopra tetto di sopra :

Legumi diversi, pomi, noze.
Diverse casse vechie.

Nel cameron detto dalla terrazza sopra il rio :

Li suoi frisi di pittura.
Un fornimento di cuori d'oro laca e verde.
Una graela da fuoco con suoi fornimenti.
Due tavolini di pasta con li suoi coperti e piedi.
Un tavolin di noghera schietto.

Careghe di veluto cremese con broche dorate et pomoli, usate, numero dodeci.
Careghini di felpa cremese con pomoli laton numero sette.
Quadri di diverse sorti numero treutauno, cioè otto piccoli dorati con fiori, un sopraporta, un sopra camin, altro picciolo in mezzo il tavolino, doi longhi grandi con soaze dorate, un san Carlo del Dolce da Roma con soaze traforate et dorate, quattro mezzani con soaze dorate, cioè Madallena, Sacrifficio di Abram, sua Beatitudine, et figura col calice, altro mezzano che si dice esser del Carpioni, altro di mezzo di David, la Venere che si dice esser di mano del Liberi, doi mezzani con soaze nere de Francesi, l'Abbondanza del Trina, un san Francesco, un san Paolo, altra figura in Diana, altri tre quadri di pittori diversi, altro mezzanetto con figura et colombina.
Un tappeto di cuoro entro rimesso di radice con scritture erano dell'ecc^mo sig. Giacomo, qual era bollato.
Altro armereto d'albedo con scrittura del medesimo, era pure bollato.

Nel camerin piccolo dredo :

Un fornimento de cuori d'oro.
Li suoi quadri sopra le porte, et altri due quadri attaccati.
Una littiera di legno dorato con una trabacca di fillo e bavelle con due stramazzi, cavezal e pagliazzo.
Una comodità di noghera.
Tavolin da letto.
Tavolin longo di noghera schietto.
Cinque careghe di veluto cremese vechie.

Nel tinello ove si mangia :

Fornimento di cuori d'oro a laca e oro.
Quadri sopra le porte n. quattro.
Altri cinque quadri attaccati tra grandi e piccoli.
Una tavola con cuoro sopra.
Un tavolin di noghera schietto.
Un altro tavolinetto quadro.
Careghe di bulgaro con pomoli all'anticha numero undeci.
Un scagno dipinto rosso per ponerne le bozze sopra.

Nella camera dredo ove habitava l'ill^ma vechia :

Fornimento di cuori d'oro a laca e oro.
Un casson da due chiavi era bollato con entro :
Tovaglioli da patron di diverse sorti, numero duecento e dodici.
Mantili trenta uno.
Una cassa di radice di noghera, era bollata con entro :
Lenzuoli da patron para dieci.
Camise di S. E. numero venti quattro, dodici de quali vechie et usade.
Faccioli diversi da man numero dodeci.
Fazzoletti numero trenta sei.
Intimelle para sei, scarpete, et calzete para dodeci per sorte.
Due tavolini d'hebano rimessi d'avorio con sopra doi palme.
Un paro di chavedoni di laton.

Sette careghini di felpa zala.
Tre quadri sopra le porte.
Altri sei attaccati di diverse sorte di pittori vechi et nuovi grandi e tre picoli.

Nella camera dredo dove dorme S. E.:

Un fornimento di cuori d'oro.
Coltrine di tella vechie doi.
Scabello di noghera, rimesso da ingenochiar.
Una littiera di legno dorata con sua trabaca paonaza.
Quatro stramazzi, cavazal, cusini e pagliazzo.
Doi tavolini di noghera.
Tre quadri sopra le porte.
Un crocefisso al letto.
Doi quadri attaccati.
Careghe di veluto zale tre.
Un quadro sopra il camin senza pittura.
Un bocal di porcellana.
Un Scuelotto con scacchi.
Una tavola da pastizzi.
Una comodità fornita con cantaro di rame.
Uno scrigno di noghera vechio era bollato con entro:
Tre pani di zucharo, un magiol.
Due candele di cera.
Un quadro con Agnus Dei popoli.
Diverse carte.
Pauli trenta due da soldi disdotto l'uno.
Ducati d'argento venetiani numero quindeci.
Scudi d'argento venetiani numero cinque e mezzo.
Bezzoni lire venti.

Nel sopra tetto di sopra dalle donne:

Un camarinetto con dentro scritture vechie della casa.
Una cassa di noghera con entro:
Poche bavele grosse, et
Abito vechio di nissun valore.
Un'altra cassa, detta era bollata con entro:
Lenzuoli da servitù para disdotto.
Un'altra cassa, detta era pure bollata, con entro:
Tovaglioli da servitù doicento e otto.
Mantili da servitù tra grandi e picoli vechi, ventiquattro.
Pezze da man numero ventidue.
Un fagoto di straze vechie.
Nell'armaro, era pur bollato, ma aperto senza alcun ritegno:
Doi cossini di damasco zallo.
Un tapedo da tola vechio.
Un altro detto alla persiana da tola.
Dieci tapedi da cassa.
Un tapedo quadro gagiarin da tola, et un altro tapedo stretto.
Alcune strazze di spalliere vecchie, et altri fagotti di strazze.

Un forcier di bulgharo vechio, senza alcuna cosa dentro.
Una cassella rimessa d'avorio senza alcuna cosa dentro.
Una simile vuota.
Altra detta d'albeo vi stava la petteniera.
Altra cassetta d'albedo con dentro li frisi di veludo del cameron, franze e romane d'oro da milan.
Un casson vuoto d'albedo.
Un casson grande d'albedo, era bollato con entro spalliere vechie.
Zambellotti paonazzi e roani vechissimi, e scritture vechie de chà Gussoni.

Nella casetta — Nella prima cameretta bassa — Un casson con scritture de reggimenti.
Un armaro d'albedo coperto di bulgharo per metere le vesti.
Un scritorio d'hebano rimesso d'avorio.

In Portico — Dodeci fusti di careghini sforniti.
Una tavola d'albedo con una petteniera di perer nero.

Nell'altra camera — Un fornimento di vasi rossi.
Una tola d'albedo con scritture.
Una scancia con scritture.
Una cassa di noghera, rimessa di radice, era bollata, con entro :
Diverso canevo fillato.
Diverso lino e stoppa fillata.
Quattro para di lenzioli da servitù.
Scritture di Mantova.
Doi ceste di diversa robba di niun valore.
Cinque careghe di velluto cremese vecchie.
Doi quadri sopra le porte.
Una portiera.

Nel mezzà grande sopra canal — Un camerin fornito di cuori d'oro con libri diversi.
Un tavolin di noghera.
Una carega di cremese vechia.
Un quadro del Polesene.

Nel mezado — Un fornimento di cuori d'oro.
Careghe di bulgharo con brocche e pomoli numero ventiquattro.
Doi tavolini di noghera.
Un specchio.
Doi scagnetti di bulgharo.
Una spinetta.
Un quadro d'una donna sopra il camin.
Altri quadri tredici, doi paesi, et undici di carte di geografia.
Un huomo di legno.

Nel mezzà sopra il rio — Sopra il muro pezzi di razzi rotti, careghe di cuoro vechie numero nove.

Una tavola di noghera.
Un letto sopra cavaletti, pagliazzo uno e stramazzo uno, con suo cavezzal, una schiavina et suoi lenzuoli.

In altro mezzà — Un letto — cioè :
Stramazzo con suo cavezzal
Pagliazzo uno
Lenzuoli due.
Doi restelliere vechie con cinque moschetti vechi e tre morioni di ferro.
Un tavolin d'albedo.

In magazen sopra la corte — Doi fisolere.
Una gondola vechia sfornita.
Un caratello di vino.
Dieci banchi d'intrada rossi.
Sei casse vechie tra di noghera e di albedo.
Diversi travi in numero di ventitrè.
Diverse fassine.
Doi scallè portatili.
Quatro archi vechi di gondole.

Nel loco della buratta — Una buratta ora fornita.
Una cassa dal pan.
Un casson di farina con entro stara otto farine in circa.
Una tavola con cavaletti.
Una cassa di semola.
Un rampegon fornito.
Una caldiera di rame.
Un forno da pastizzi.

In cucina — Tre sechi di rame.
Piatti di peltre grandi e piccoli diversi.
Stagnade doi, granda e picciola.
Doi caldiere granda e mezzana.
Una bastardella.
Scaldaletti tre.
Una lume da oglio di laton longa.
Cadene da fuoco doi.
Graelle doi.
Fersore doi.
Lume da oglio dal manico doi.
Candellieri quattro di latton.
Cazze di ferro diverse.
Spedi da rosto doi, grande e picciolo.
Una caponera con pollame.

In caneva — Botte grande tre, doi piene et una che si beve.
Carattelli doi, che si va bevendo, et un pieno.
Mastello, lora, mastella di legno.

In magazzen dalle legna — Legne diverse per uso.

Sotto scala — Carbon per il bisogno.

Nella lissiera — Una caldiera murata.
Diversi tolami, cassoni et zocchi da abbrucciar.
Capponere et pollame.

Et qui è il fine del soprascritto inventario incominciato li 31 gennaro, come sopra, et finito a' nove febraro 1676 con l'assistenza sempre del N. H. q. Giovanni Cavalli.

Joannes Petrus Bona pub. Venet.
not. ac pred. camer^is dep.

Della stessa famiglia Cavalli esiste un altro inventario dei quadri ch'erano in un loro palazzo a Padova:

Laus Deo 1722, Padoa, 6 lug^o

Inventario e stima de quadri con pitture, mobili esistenti nel palazzo del N. H. Ferigo Cavalli alle porte Contarine in Pad^a come segue:

Nella sala terrena:

Dieci quadri dipinti a fresco, tre sopra porte, sei sottobalconi, dieci sotto ovadi, sei soprabalconi, due medaglie con puttini e fiori et adornamento alle due porte, una va sopra la mura, l'altra in giardin; il tutto di mano di Primon. — Stimati . . . . . D. 60

Nel camerino verso il giardino:

Un quadro mobile in mezo al soffitto, et altro quadro alla testa del letto, dipinti a oglio, di mano del Ferarese 10

Nella camera sfornita in soler di mezo, guarda sopra la serra:

Un friso mobile dipinto a oglio 20
Una sopraporta con figura d'un filosofo di mano di Pietro Malombra 8
Un altro sopra porta con figura di donna, maniera bolognese . . 10

Nel camerino soler di mezo:

Vi sono dieci pezzi di quadri mobili di mano del cav. Bambini di favole, cioè Galatea con altre donne e puttini, Diana, Venere, Adon e giudizio di Paride, Bacco, Arianna et Andromeda et altre figure dipinte a oglio, stimati 270

Nella camera de stuchi:

Un san Franc^co di mano di Pietro della Vechia 10
Un Davide del Palma 16
Una Venere del Liberi con putini 30
Uno con Giove e donna del Rosa 16
Una staggion del Mazzoni 10
Due compagni con figure di Diana et altro la richiesta maniera foresta 16
Un quadro con Diana e Adon original 10
Un altro serve per sopraporta, ritratto di donna, del Tintoretto . . 10
Altro, serve p. sopraporta, del Veronese 20

Nella camera dei cori d'oro:

Vi sono quadri grandi mobili cinque dipinti a oglio sopra il coridoro di favole, e sono figure al natural, uno il ratto di Proserpina, altro Giove e Giunone, altro Giove convertito in piova d'oro e Danae, altro Giove fulminante, altro sacrifitio con Diana ed altre figure di mano del cav. Bambini; nelli tre cantonali vi sono una figura per cadauno rappresenta Appolo, Venere, e nel terzo una dona con puttino, un sottocamin con Vulcano, tutte figure al natural

del sudᵒ Bambini; tre sottobalconi con puttini, stelle, stuchi nel friso; vi sono dodeci ovadi parimente in coridoro con puttini, due sopraporte, in una Diana et altro Mercurio del Bambini . D. 360

Nel camerino del solar di mezo, varda sopra il Giardino:

Vi sono quadri grandi tre dipinti in tella a oglio con figure e fiori, rappresenta in uno tutte le scienze, in altro Flora ed altro Venere; vi sono pure quattro cantonali con figure e fiori, due sopraporte rappresenta giroglifici con fiori di mano della Caffi, e le figure e puttini fatti da Carlo Graffini stimano 130

Nel sudᵒ camerin vi è un friso stabile con puttin di Primon . . . 10

D. 1016

Io Zuanne Scopin pittore ho stimato le suddette pitture.

(*Raccolta Stefani.*)

III

Inventario e peso dell' argenteria della serenissima casa Mocenigo di S. Eustachio e robbe trasportate in dogado dal palazzo S. Eustachio.

Venezia, primo agosto 1771.

N. 120	piatti angoloti	O. 2353	3
4	piatti reali	324	
4	piadenelle grande	157	
2	piatti tondi angolati	175	
2	detti ovadi simili	274	1
4	salatiere angolate	125	3
2	piatti sotto ovadi grandi angolati	116	1
2	porta bottiglie	164	
2	terine tonde	225	1
4	dette ovade	413	2
2	piatti tondi delle terine	93	3
10	ovadi con orletto	522	
2	piatti da suppe con manichi	182	3
8	alandre	283	
2	porta bozze da oglio, e aceto, e 4 saliere	112	3
2	salsiere	38	
4	piatti da capon angolati	222	3
4	detti sotto capon	152	
4	piadenelle	110	
4	dette più piccole	80	
2	piatti piccoli ordobre	41	1
2	piadenelle ordobre	41	1
1	scalda vivande	40	3
2	rinfrescadore	236	2
16	cuchieri in sorte da trinzar	121	2
7	corteliere con n. 84 possatte di varie sorti	560	
1	corteliera con n. 12 possatte da frutti fruste	61	1
1	detta con n. 12 possatte da frutti lustre	65	1
12	atteletti	8	3
6	trinzanti con manichi suttili	4	

N. 12 cucchiaretti de sorbetti		O. 11	1
8 cortelli con manichi di maiolica compl. 2 piccoli		5	
4 sotto coppe di Francia		119	2
6 sotto coppe angolate		169	2
4 dette simille più grande		119	
5 berettoni		74	
1 cogoma d'acqua con manico d'hebano		54	
2 tazze, una aperta e altra serata a sputar		23	2
2 lumiere da palco con brazaletti e mochetta		49	
2 brazaletti da tre lumi, e n. 4 da due lumi, n. 6 candelieri per detti, n. 2 porta mochette e mochette		281	2
1 porta mochetta e mochetta		7	3
2 panattiere grande		226	
1 detta granda		102	1
4 detta simille		526	
2 dette simille moderne		244	
2 dette mezane simille		201	1
2 dette calanti		151	2
4 candelieri grandi a buffi		284	
2 detti mezani		68	2
4 detti con braciali		179	
10 detti da tavola		168	
10 detti mezani		124	
4 detti e n. 4 ordobre		63	2
1 zucheriera da sei cuchiari con 2 soli cuchiari		9	2
4 cogome sortite		170	
1 spada		6	
		O. 3236	22

In cassetta piccola da viaggio.

N. 4 candelieri 2 sotto coppe 2 candelieretti piccoli 2 cuchieri da trinzar 12 possatte 1 coltello e vn piron da trinzar	Tutto pesa	O. 216

In cassetta grande da viaggio.

N. 1 panatiera 2 sotto coppe 2 candelieri 2 detti piccoli 12 possatte 1 cattin 1 cogoma 1 saponetta 1 zucheriera e n. 6 cuchiaretti da caffè 1 porta mochetta e mochetta	Tutto pesa circa	O. 332	
8 piatti da tovagiol doratti angolati		133	1
2 possatte doratte		12	

N. 18	dette doratte da frutti	O. 107	3
12	dette doratte da frutti	60	3
2	cuchieretti e n. 2 cortelini doratti	5	
2	sotto coppe tonde doratte	96	
1	cadin e una cogoma doratta	57	
1	sotto coppa doratta	16	1
1	panatiera doratta, n. 1 zucheriera, et n. 1 cuchiar doratto	29	1
		O. 1063	9

In mano di Vido Molinari credenzier.

N. 2	piatti reali	O. 168	
2	detti da suppe	125	
8	detti da capon	337	
12	piadenelle	335	2
58	tondi	1199	
1	panatiera mezana	58	
1	detta con manichi a torchio	49	
8	candelieri mezani a buffi	275	
8	detti ottangoli	128	
4	sottò coppe grande angolate	124	2
2	dette più piccole simili	56	3
1	cogoma da caffè	42	
1	secchio d'acqua	81	d
2	saliere	10	3
1	zuccheriera e n. 4 cuchiaretti	7	3
24	possade lisse da tauola	164	1
4	cuchiari grandi	39	
1	piron e n. 2 coltelli da trinzar c^{a}	12	

Per credenziera.

N. 2	bacili contornati lissi	448	
2	istoriati bianchi	197	
1	detto istoriato con rose doratte	107	
2	detti o sia guantiere ceselate doratte	154	
2	detti grandi con arma	364	
1	detto con figure doratte	238	2
1	detto istoriato doratto	165	
2	detti grandi bianchi e lustri	301	
3	bacili lustri grandi con arma	447	
1	detto grande istoriato doratto	193	2
1	detto simile doratto	187	2
1	detto istoriato doratto	130	
2	detto istoriati doratti	210	
1	detto bianco, e doratto ovado	183	2
2	fiasche bianche	166	
2	vasi d'acqua	307	
2	cavalli doratti	227	
1	saliera	88	
1	bacil grande istoriato bianco	776	

N.	1 brasiera grande	O. 12	40
	1 pase doratta	16	
	10 bocaletti	63	3
	Petteniera doratta		
	2 cassette, n. 1 porta sculier, n. 1 scudella da brodo		
	1 porta mochetta e n. 1 mochetta		
	1 bugia da candela		
	2 scattolette piccole e n. 1 campanello		
	1 manico di scovoletta da drappi	Tutto	
	1 canevetta		
	1 brocca, n. 1 cadin e n. 1 saponetta	O. 356	
	2 possade n. 1 scueletta da pettini		
	1 scueletta piccola con coperchio	pesa	
	2 scattole da polvere		
	2 candelieri n. 1 foletto da polvere		
	1 caramal n. 4 guantiere		
	1 sotto coppa e n. 1 scansia da specchio		
		O. 458	9

In camera del Serenissimo.

N.	1 bacinetta con lattone, n. 1 calamar, n. 1 spolverinaggio, n. 1 portabolini, n. 1 campanella, n. 1 sigillo grando, n. 1 cuchiaretto per il spolvero in tutto	O. 44	2
	1 cadin e brocca, e saponetta	72	1
	2 sottocoppe	60	
	2 candelieri angolati e n. 2 piccoli ottangoli	41	
	1 caramaletto, n. 1 spolverinaggio, n. 1 porta bolini	6	
	1 cogoma da caffè con manichetto, n. 4 cuchiarini	15	3
	1 panatiera angolata	25	1
	1 Cadin, n. 1 brocca, n. 1 saponetta	61	
	2 candelieri ottangoli	16	2
	2 busiette da candelle	13	
	2 scattole da poluere	24	
	1 porta mochetta e n. 1 mochetta	9	3
	1 tazza da sputar	14	
	1 cusinello e n. 1 scueletta	10	
	1 pilella	15	
	1 agnus, una B. V., e altro reliquiario	13	
	5 pezzi per caramal, campanella, un astuchio per sigillar	60	
	2 candelieri	22	3
	3 cuchiari da caffè	1	2

In gesiola.

N.	1 calice angolato e pattena	16	3
	1 sechiello, e aspergles doratto	21	1
	1 lampada	22	2
	1 palla reliquiario sopra l'altar con n. 18 reliquie e n. 1 cartello ca	50	

N.	3 tolelle d'altar	O. 3	
	1 crocefisso	5	
	1 madona d'oro pesa L. 1.— 27.		

In camera del Kr Sr Marc'Antonio.

N.	1 cadin, n. 1 brocca, n. 1 saponetta	57	
	1 pilella	10	
	1 calamar, n. 1 scattola doratta per sapon e n. 2 candelieri da ombre	35	

In camera del Kr Sigr Alvise.

N.	1 cadin, n. 1 brocca e n. 1 saponetta	46	
	1 pilella	6	
	2 candelieri da ombre	11	
	2 detti grandi	25	1
	1 calamar con pezzi 5 e n. 3 coperchi	45	2
	1 busia	5	3

In camera del Kr Sr Piero.

N.	1 cadin, n. 1 brocca, n. 1 saponetta	60	
	1 calamar, n. 1 spolverinaggio, n. 1 porta bolini, n. 1 pilella, n. 1 agnus	14	
	2 busie	13	1
	1 mochetta, n. 1 portamochetta	10	

Nelli argenti.

N.	1 spechio con soasa d'argento	54	
	2 panatiere	82	
	2 sotto coppe	44	2
	1 cogoma da caffè, n. 1 zuccheriera, n. 2 cuchiaretti	17	1
	calamar, spolverinaggio, altro per bolini, bosollo per penne, campanella in tutto pezzi n. 8	43	
	4 bacinelle	49	
	4 candelieri	40	2
	2 detti o sia bugie, n. 1 mochetta, n. 1 porta mochetta	24	2
	1 cadin, n. 1 brocca e n. 1 savonetta	56	
	1 magiolera	5	1
	1 tazza da sputar	13	3
	2 scattole grande coperte	46	2
	2 dette mezane coperte	28	3
	2 dette piccole coperte per aghi	10	1
	1 scovoletta granda per drappi	7	
	1 scovoletta mezzana	5	
	1 scovoletta per seggie		1
	1 agho e n. 1 brittolin d'argento	1	1
	2 cusinelli, un grando e altro piccolo per aghi	10	
	2 zucheriere, n. 2 bozzette da oglio, n. 1 peveriera	33	
	30 possatte per frutti doratte	165	3
	4 cuchiari in palla per giacci	12	3
	12 palettine per sal	6	1
	36 palettine per sorbetti	32	2

N. 16 manichi trinzar alla francese	O.	27	2
1 scalda vivande		45	1
1 scaldapiedi		66	3
4 foglie dopie per porta limoni		62	8
2 casse per zuchero		8	3
4 piatti triangoli		124	3
	O.	1647	14
Summa delli argenti (Totale riassuntivo delle soprascritte somme)	O.	23419	26

Camera da udienza del Serenissimo.

N. 33 telli velludo cremese a pello.
39 trine d'oro, sopra li telli velludo.
7 sguazaroni d'oro intorno al fornimento piccoli e grandi.
4 portiere di telli 4 l'una di velludo a pelle cremese.
16 trine nelle sudette portiere, che contorna tutto il basso.
5 bonegrazie d'intaglio dorette.
2 coltrine cremese e buone grazie con falbalà di cendà doppio.
16 caregoni doratti coperti di velludo cremese a pello con trine e sguazaroni e piccolo galon intorno tutto d'oro in tutti B[a].
16 coperte di seta cremese sopra detti caregoni.
1 stratto di velludo cremese con trine anche tutto il fondo con sotto tauolon.
2 tauolini tutti d'intaglio doratti col coperto di pietra.
5 sopra porte con razzi d'oro.
1 ritratto grande del Serenissimo con soazza tutta d'intaglio doratta.
Razzi dorati intorno il fornimento della camera.

Andio.

N. 1 fornimento di telle con figure.
4 portiere di panno cremese con arma.
4 canapè di nogara con sentar di canadindia.
14 careghe di nogara con sentar di canadindia.
4 coltrine bianche con falbalà e buone grazie doratte.
1 tavolino con cassella di nogara.
1 feral di cristal.
Soazze intorno il fornimento di telle doratte.

Camera del Serenissimo.

N. 22 telli damasco cremese.
1 ritratto del Serenissimo con spechio e soazza d'oro.
1 tavolin doratto e lattesin con coperchio di pietre.
10 careghini di nogara di rimesso con cussin di veludo cremese fiorato con franza zala intorno.
1 poltrona fodrata di veludo cremese.
1 coltrina di cendà cremese.
1 portiera di tre telli di damasco cremese.
1 antiporta di damasco cremese galonata gialla.

N. 3 quadri divoti con soazze doratte.
Soazze doratte intorno il fornimento.
Camerin interno nel quale si custodisce l'ombrella, carega e cussin per le fonzioni.

Gesiola per il Serenissimo.

N. 18 telli damasco cremese con franza cremese a mez'aria.
2 coltrine di cendà cremese.
1 portiera di n. 3 telli damasco cremese.
12 careghini di bosso con sentar di canadindia.
1 armer con due casselle per li paramenti di rimesso.
1 tavolin di rimesso con cassella.
Soazze doratte intorno il fornimento.

In Gesiola sopra l'altar.

N. 1 quadro con soazza d'oro con l'imagine della santissima vergine e molti santi.

Camera delle cestelle.

N. 33 telli brocadello a giardin.
6 poltrone fodrate di brocadello simile a giardin.
1 tauolin grande di nogara tondo in due meze lune.
6 tavolini di nogara che forma tavola da pranso.
5 coltrine bianche con falbalà e bonegrazie.
2 portiere di panno rosso fiorate con arma rossa.
1 quadro che esprime l'elezione del Serenissimo con soazza e frontespicio d'intaglio tutto doratto.
1 portiera di panno rosso con arma che guarda la salla de banchetti.
3 sopraporte imprimite.
2 cioè sotto e sopra camin imprimiti.
Soazze doratte all'intorno del fornimento.

Camera per la Serenissima Signoria dove balotta.

N. 30 telli di velludo d'oro e sopra rizzo cremese.
10 detti per colonati di velludo cremese schietto.
17 caregoni d'intaglio tutti doratti compreso quello per il Serenissimo con due striche galoni, coperti tutti di velludo soprarizzo d'oro simile al fornimento.
2 portiere, cioè una di telli 4 e l'altra di telli 3 di velludo d'oro compagno del sudetto fornimento.
2 coltrine cremese con fioretti d'oro e falbalà intorno.
2 tavolini coperti di tolla finta pietra con piedi, tutti doratti con 2 figure pure doratte.
1 tavolin di rimesso, che si apre a mezzo.
1 tapedo piccolo da scalin per il Serenissimo.
1 detto grando.
1 scalin per la carega del Serenissimo.
1 schenal di n. 4 telli di velludo cremese.
5 striche di galon d'oro sopra detto schenal e di sopra altro galon che abracia tutti li telli con franzon tutto d'oro.
Soazza d'oro attorno tutto il fornimento.

In salla de' banchetti.

N. 1 fanò con cristalli tutto doratto.
1 feral grando di latta grando nell'andio.

Seconda camera dove si unisce li eccmi consiglieri.

N. 28 telli di velludo in opera color d'oro e soprarizzo cremese.
12 detti alle parti di velludo cremese schietto.
13 careghe fodratte di velludo cremese tutte d'intaglio doratte, compreso una per il Serenissimo con gallon e franza.
1 scalin per detta carega del Serenissimo.
2 tapedi piccoli per detto scalin.
1 tapedo grando.
3 sopraporte.
3 cortine con falbalà di cendà cremese.
2 tavolini d'intaglio tutti doratti con coperchio di pietra.
2 scagnetti con 2 orinali e ceste.
1 portiera di velludo in opera color d'oro a soprarizzo di n. 3 telli compagni del fornimento con franza d'oro.
Soazze doratte intorno il fornimento.

Terza camera delli secretarj.

N. 36 telli di damasco cremese.
1 portiera di n. 3 telli damasco simile con franza d'oro piccola.
12 careghe tutte doratte coperte di damasco cremese simille.
6 poltroncine di bosso con sentar e schenal di canadindia.
2 tavolini con quattro puttini d'intaglio doratti tutti con coperchio nero di rimesso.
2 coltrine di cendà cremese.
2 sopra porte.
1 sottocamin di tella con soazza dorata.
Soazze dorate attorno tutto il fornimento.

Quarta camera del Serenissimo.

N. 5 pezzi arazzi compreso un piccolo istoriati.
1 specchio grando in due lumi con soazza doratta e fiocco d'intaglio.
1 tavolin di vernise e parte indoratto d'intaglio con coperchio di pietra con figura in mezzo.
6 careghe poltrone coperte di punto finto razzo.
2 portiere con riporti e arme in mezzo di seta.
2 coltrine divise in quattro di damasco cremese con galoni gialli e fodra gialla di cendà.
4 careghe con poggi tutte doratte, e coperte di damasco verde.
2 sopraporte schiette.
1 sottocamin simille.
7 scagnetti con piedi doratti d'intaglio coperti di damasco verde con franza vechia.
Soazze doratte tutto attorno il fornimento.
2 portiere di panno rosso con arma gialla in salla scura.

Mezzà del pregadi.

N. 3 pezzi d'arazzo grandi istoriati e n. 3 alle parti picoli.
7 careghe con poggi fodrate di velludo cremese.
2 caregoni con poggi fodrati di velludo cremese.
2 careghe senza poggi fodrate di velludo cremese.
1 spechio piccolo d'intaglio.
1 tavolin grando di rimesso con coperchio a quadrelli.
2 detti piccoli di nogara.
4 sopraporte schiette.
2 canapè coperti di damasco verde con piedi tutti doratti.
2 scagnetti coperti di damasco verde con piedi tutti doratti.
Soazze dorate intorno al fornimento.
1 portiera rossa con arma in sala del Scudo.

Apartamento del Serenissimo. Prima camera.

N. 1 fornimento di rasetti a fiama vechi.
2 cochiette di nogara contestiere e tutto il fornimento di stramazzi e pagliazzi per letti.
12 quadri con soazze d'intaglio parte doratte con profilli, e n. 3 detti piccoli, n. 2 agnus e n. 1 crocefisso.
8 careghe con sentar di bavellin giallo.
1 tavolinetto con sopra orologio da camera.
2 giridoni e n. 1 porta orinal di nogara.
1 barometro.
2 coltrine di cendà giallo.
Soazze intorno il fornimento doratte.

Seconda camera ò sia loghetto per ritiro divoto.

N. 1 fornimento di dimasco giallo vechio.
1 tavolin di rimesso con cassella.
1 tavolin che si apre di rimesso.
1 giridon di rimesso.
2 careghe con cusin verde con riporti di galon giallo.
2 barometri.
1 quadro grande con soazza a vernise con la Sacra famiglia coperto con coltrina.
2 quadri con figure d'argento, cioè uno la Carità, e l'altro san Zuanne con frontespicio e contorno di lavori d'argento.
21 quadretti in sorte tutti divoti parte con soazze doratte.
1 coltrina in due di cendà vechio.
1 lettorin picolo di nogara, n. 1 cosin per ingenochiarsi.
Soazze dorate intorno il fornimento.

Terza camera.

N. 1 fornimento di cuori a fiori voltati.
1 cochietta con fornimento da letto.
2 canapi con stramazzo fodrato d'indiana.
2 burò di rimesso con spechiera che si apre, cioè uno in armer e l'altro scrittoio, tutti due con tre casselle.

N. 3 careghe di velludo cremese doratte.
2 scagnetti con sentar di canadindia.
1 tabolin con sotto un sattiro che morde un putin, tutto doratto, con sopra coperchio di pietra.
3 barometri.
8 quadri divoti, cioè 5 con soazze d'intaglio doratte, due con san Zuane d'argento e frontespicio con laveri intorno la soazza d'argento, e uno della B. V. con soazza di veluto verde, con frontespicio e contorni d'argento.
1 burò con casselle n. 6 alle parti con due colti sopra, tutto di rimesso, che serve per scrittorio.
2 ponegrazie di damasco verde con riporto galon gialo.
2 coltrine con falbalà di tela.
Soazze doratte intorno il fornimento.

Quarta camera dove vi sono la chiesiola e dietro la via crucis.

N. 1 fornimento di telle imprimite bianche con fasse riquadrate.
1 armer con zatte e tre casselle di nogara rosso.
2 canapè di nogara picoli fodratti di tella stampata.
15 quadretti della santissima passion e un crocefisso.
2 scabeletti di nogara con cussini di velludo in opera.

Alter.

La palla di ragione del dogado.
N. 1 quadretto in cima della palla con soazza doratta.
1 reliquiario d'argento grande che forma palla con entro molte reliquie, con soazza d'argento e sopra un crocefisso d'argento, coperto con coltrina in due di cendà rosa con merlo d'oro.
3 tolelle.
1 lampeda d'argento.
4 candelieri d'otton con 4 bossoli per tener le candelle.
2 vasi d'otton per palme.
1 parapetto di ferandina a fiori, e tutto il bisogno per l'altar.
2 scabelli d'albeo dipinti a nogara con cussini sotto e sopra di damasco cremese.
4 scagnetti di nogara con sentar di canadindia.
1 carega di velludo cremese tutta doratta.
3 quadri diuoti fatti di punto con frontespicio e profillo doratto.
1 alter portatile.
2 cussini per inginochiarsi.
Soazze doratte intorno il fornimento.

Quinta camera divisa in due.

N. 1 fornimento di amuer lattesin con sfrisi verdi cioè n. 14 lattesini e n. 7 verdi.
2 coltrine divise in 4 di cendà giallo vechie.
1 tavolin grando all'inglese rosso di nogara.
1 carega tutta doratta, con sentar e schenal di veludo cremese.
2 careghe gialle con sentar di damasco giallo.

N. 9 careghe o sia poltroncine con cussin di amuer giallo e fasse bleu con galon bianco.
1 portiera in due con bonagrazia di amuer verde con galoni bianchi.
1 fornimento di amuer lattesin, cioè telli n. 12 lattesini e n. 6 gialli con riporti di galon bianco.
1 portiera in due cioè un tello lattesin e due gialle galonate di bianco, e bonagrazia gialla con riporto di galon bianco.
2 giridoni di rimesso.
2 careghe con sentar di damasco giallo.
1 carega doratta con sentar e schena di veludo cremese.
1 poltrona tutta fodratta di velludo cremese.
8 scagnetti con sentar di canadindia e attorno filetti lattesini.
2 coltrine di cendà zalo e due bonegrazie vechie.
Soazze doratte intorno il fornimento.

Sesta camera.

N. 1 fornimento di damasco giallo con telli n. 22 1/2.
1 spechiera con soazza e frontespicio tutto doratto.
1 sottocamin dipinto con soazza doratta.
1 tavolin di rimesso con tre casselle.
1 tavolin con piede d'intaglio tutto doratto e sopra coperchio di pietra.
1 quadretto della B. V. donato dal papa, con soazza tutta d'argento doratto e galon d'argento.
1 quadro con soazza di rimesso con frontespicio con figure tutte d'argento.
10 careghe dipinte gialle con sentar e schenal di damasco giallo.
2 coltrine di cendà giallo divise in quattro.
1 portiera in due di 4 telli gialla con galon giallo.
2 sopraporte dipinte con soazze dorate e n. 2 sotto balconi.
4 guantiere ovade di metal con merletto atorno.
2 comode di rimesso in loghetto.
1 porta fuoco d'otton e ferri con pomoli d'otton, moletta e paletta d'otton.
Soazze doratte tutto attorno il fornimento.

Settima camera.

N. 4 facciate di telle con figure che mostra arazzi.
2 sopraporte e n. 2 sottobalconi dipinti.
1 tavolin d'intaglio di nogara con sopra coperchio di pietra bianca.
1 tavolin d'intaglio dipinto lattesin con coperchio di pietra bianca.
1 portiera in due, cioè n. 2 teli gialli di damasco.
2 bonegrazie di detto damasco galonate di bianco.
1 cantonal d'albeo dipinto.
2 canapè di nogara con sentar di canadindia.
4 scagnetti con sentar di canadindia.
Soazze doratte attorno il fornimento.

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Libraria del Serenissimo sopra la terazza.

N. 3 faciatte cioè compreso il sofitto di telle bianche imprimite.
4 librarie d'albeo per tener li libri.

6 quadri cioè 3 divoti e 3 modelli della sala.
1 lume con bandiruola per scriver.

Appartamento delli signori sposi — Prima camera.

N. 1 fornimento di drappo giallo con fiori dispersi telli n. 24, e n. 2 sopra porte di telli n. 4 in tutte due.
4 portiere in due dello stesso drappo di telli n. 2 l'una, sono in tutti telli n. 8 fodratte di tella e galonate.
1 spechiera grande sopra il camin con intaglio e frontespicio dipinto giallo e pedelin, e n. 4 brazaletti per candelle, fornimento, feri da fogher, tuto il camin fodrato di piastrelle.
1 canapè grando con stramazetto e n. 2 cusini, tutto fodratto di detto drappo a fiori e dipinto come la spechiera.
10 scagnetti con sentar di canadindia con cusini di detto drappo giallo a fiori e galonati e dipinti come sopra.
1 tavolin grando con piede d'intaglio dipinto come sopra con coperchio di pietra.
3 tavolinetti che si apre di nogara all'inglese.
1 cao cimballo grande e n. 1 lettorin.
1 spechio grande con frontespicio e soazza d'intaglio dipinto simile al fornimento.
3 coltrine gialle con sopra bonagrazia d'intaglio dipinte come sopra.
Tutto il fornimento attorno soazze d'intaglio dipinte come sopra.

Seconda camera.

N. 1 fornimento di telli n. 25 damasco verde.
4 portiere grandi di telli in tutto n. 16 di detto damasco, fodratte di tella, galonate di galon giallo.
4 sopra porte di damasco verde.
7 bonegrazie d'intaglio tutte doratte.
2 coltrine di cendà verde.
1 spechiera, che covre tutta la faciata d'intaglio, tutta doratta con due porta candelieri doratti, e n. 4 bracialetti di crestal.
1 tavolin con piede tutto d'intaglio doratto con sopra coperchio di pietra.
12 careghe-poltrone d'intaglio tutte doratte con sentar e schenal di damasco verde.
2 scagnetti dipinti a porzelana con sentar di canadindia.
1 canapè grande d'intaglio tutto doratto con stramazzo e n. 2 cuscini tutto fodratto di dimasco verde e galonato di giallo.
1 tavolin di rimesso con casella che si apre.
Soazze doratte tutto attorno il fornimento.

Terza camera.

N. 1 fornimento di pelli n. 35 drappo a giardin.
1 imperial d'intaglio dipinto a giardin a parte doratta con coltrine due di telli n. 3, in tutte due dello stesso drappo a giardin.
4 cioè due portiere e due coltrine di due telli l'una, sono in tutti telli n. 16 dello stesso drappo a giardin.
4 bonegrazie d'intaglio parte doratte e parte dipinte a giardin e dello stesso drappo a giardin.

N. 1 littiera per letto tutta d'intaglio dipinta a giardin e parte doratta, n. 3 stramazzi, n. 4 cuscini, capezali e pagliazzo.
3 cumò grandi d'intaglio dipinti a giardin e parte doratti.
2 sopra porte di n. 2 telli l'una dello stesso drappo a giardin.
2 cumò piccoli d'intaglio dipinti a giardin e parte doratti.
1 specchio grande con soazza a frontespicio d'intaglio dipinto a giardin parte doratto.
14 careghe-poltrone con schenal a sentar, cioè cussini dello stesso drappo a giardin, tutte d'intaglio, dipinte a giardin e parte doratte.
2 quadretti con soazze d'argento con l'imagine della santissima Vergine.
2 pilelle d'argento.
Soazze d'intaglio dipinte a giardin e parte doratte tutto attorno il fornimento.

Quarta camera — Luoco per conzarsi.

N. 7 telli amuer bianco per fornimento.
12 telli in n. 3 portiere di amuer bianco galonate di bianco.
5 bonegrazie d'intaglio parte doratte, e parte lattesine.
1 soffitto di tella imprimata con contorno a fiori dipinto.
2 coltrine di cendà bianco.
2 cantonali che forma canapè, e n. 2 scagnetti d'intaglio parte doratti e parte lattesini dipinti con sentar di amuer bianco e coperti di rigadin bianco.
Soazze d'intaglio doratte e dipinte attorno il fornimento.

Quinta camera.

N. 1 fornimento di telle bianche imprimate.
1 specchio con soazze di rimesso e fillo d'oro, e n. 2 brazaletti.
1 armer di rimesso a tre caselle.
2 cassette per scuffie tutte guarnite d'argento e n. 2 scagnetti che stanno sopra.
2 careghe-poltrone con filetto doratto e cusin d'amuer bianco galonato.
1 portiera di amuer bianco di telli n. 4 guarnita di giallo.
In detta camera vi è il scrigno per tener le gioie e di sopra loco dove vi è li cristalli.
1 scaletta da man che si unisce per detto loco.
1 canapè con sentar di canadindia con filetto d'oro.
2 coltrine di cendà bianco.

Prima camera della colonna.

N. 34 telli raso lattesin per fornimento.
4 sopra porte di detto rasetto lattesin.
3 portiere dipinte con cristalli, compreso una col specchio.
3 coltrine di cendà lattesin.
3 coltrine di cendà lattesin per le portiere e bonegrazie.
1 canapè di raso lattesin fodrato il schenal, due cussini e dipinto bianco e lattesin.
8 scagnetti con sentar di canadindia e cusin di raso lattesin, dipinti bianchi e lattesini.
1 tavolin grando con casella di rimesso.

N. 1 detto piccolo che si apre all'inglese.
1 spechiera sopra il camin con soazza doratta e n. 4 brazzaletti di cristal.
4 quadri con soazza doratta con specchio, opere di Piazzetta.
Soazze doratte attorno il fornimento.

Andio.

N. 1 fornimento di telle bianche imprimite e requadrate.
1 armer con spechiera incassato nel muro.

Seconda camera.

N. 4 telli telle con figure che finge arazzi e cantonate di damasco bianco e cremese.
1 armeron di rimesso grande con n. 9 caselle e n. 4 portelle con specchi.
1 armer di rimesso con n. 3 caselle.
1 detto all'inglese con zatte rosse con 3 caselle.
9 careghe di nogara con sentar di canadindia.
1 tavola d'albeo grande con sotto due cavaletti.
2 armeroni d'albeo coperti di una tella che forma arazzo per abiti e biancheria.
1 feral di cristal.
Soazze attorno il fornimento doratte.

Terza camera.

N. 1 fornimento di cuori.
1 armer grandi d'albeo con n. 4 portelle.
2 armeroni d'albeo per abiti.
1 tolla per lavorar.
2 coltrine di tella.
Soazze attorno il fornimento doratte.

Quarta camera.

N. 1 armer di nogara con tre caselle.
3 careghe di nogara con cusin verde e riporti di galon giallo.
3 poltrone di nogara con cussin di amuer giallo e galonate di bianco.
1 armer di albeo.
1 tavolin fodratto di pelle.
3 griglie da balconi.
1 ritratto della fu Serenissima patrona.
1 giridon di nogara.

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Apartamento del E. K^r Sr Piero — Prima camera.

N. 3 pezzi arazzi con l'istoria di Ercole, e n. 6 sfrisi di tella alle parte che serve per colonne.
3 tavolini tutti d'intaglio con coperchio di pietra.
6 canapè tutti doratti coperti di soprarizzo cremese e d'oro.
2 moretti doratti.
2 portiere di damasco cremese.
2 sopraporte dipinte.
2 poltrone con cussini di pelle gialla.

N. 1 crocefisso.
1 croce di Gerusalemme.
Soazze tutto attorno il fornimento doratte.

Seconda camera, cioè l'ingresso del. sud. K^r.

N. 4 pezzi arazzi istoriati, cioè due grandi e due piccoli.
1 coltrina in due telli.
2 tavolini di nogara.
9 careghe di nogara con cussini di persiana a porzelana.
1 carega tonda con cusin di persiana a porzelana.
1 orologio da muro entro in cassa di nogara.
3 sopraporte dipinte.
Soazze tutto attorno il fornimento doratte.

Terza camera.

N. 22 telli amuer giallo amarizato.
3 armeri di rimesso.
10 careghe di nogara con cussini d'amuer giallo.
17 quadri con santi con soazze doratte.
2 coltrine in quattro telli.
3 antiporte di panno verde gallonate a disegno, et un'altra simille.
2 sopraporte dipinte.
1 placca di ferro da fuoco, paletta, moletta con manichi d'otton e una fogara da man.
1 spechiera sopra il camin.
1 suflà con stramazetto fodrato d'indiana.
1 poltrona di nogara con schenal e cusin fodrato d'indiana.
1 cassettina di nogara con bozze di cristal d'acqua.
Soazze dorate tutto attorno il fornimento.

Quarta camera.

N. 27 telli di brocadello a giardin cremese zallo e bianco, e un tello di tella finto lo stesso brocadello.
1 sofà di brocadello giallo con stramazetto e cusini intorno fodratti.
1 padiglion con due coltrine di damasco cremese e bianco.
1 cochietta di nogara con tutto il bisognevole da letto.
1 burò con spechiera.
1 armer di rimesso con due portelle.
1 scrittorio all'inglese rosso.
1 poltrona fodrata di brocadello cremese e bianco con cussin.
6 careghe-poltrone con cusini fodrate di brocadello simile.
2 antiporte di panno verde con riporti di galon giallo.
1 orologio da tavolin.
Soazze dorate attorno il fornimento.
2 coltrine in quattro telli di cendà giallo.
1 reliquiario incerchiato d'argento.
4 quadretti divoti piccoli.
1 pilella d'argento.
2 sopraporte dipinte.
1 quadro con frontespizio con soazza dorata con la famiglia di san Domenico.

Dietro la camera.

N. 1 scrignetto d'albeo imbotito dentro un loghetto difeso con porta.
1 burò con caselle di rimesso.
1 letto con tutto il bisognevole.
1 scrittorio di rimesso con piedi a corona.
1 comoda di rimesso.
1 carega da letto fodrata di brocadello giallo.
1 sechio con sua cazza d'acqua.
1 cogoma d'acqua grande.

Apartamento del Eccmo Kr Alvise.
Prima camera entrando per la terazza.

N. 4 quadri con spechio e soazze doratte con ritratti.
1 tavolin di rimesso con casella con quattro zatte.
6 careghe di nogara con intaglio e sentar di damasco giallo.
1 sofà grande con n. 5 cussini attorno e stramazetta.
2 scagnetti rossi all'inglese con sentar di canadindia.
1 coltrina di setta gialla vecchia.
1 portiera con cristalli.
1 armer di rimesso con libraria pur di rimesso con portelle di spechi.
1 burò all'inglese rosso con spechiera che forma libraria.
1 tavolin di rimesso che si apre per scriver.
2 scarabatoli all'inglese rossi.

Nell'andio per andar di sopra.

N. 1 armer d'albeo grando con due portelle.
1 feral atacato al muro.

Seconda camera.

N. 29 telli damasco metà zallo e metà verde.
4 poltroncine all'inglese rosse con sentar di canadindia.
7 scagnetti all'inglese rossi con sentar di canadindia.
1 sopraporta di damasco verde.
2 coltrine di cendà giallo.
2 giridoni di nogara.
1 burò di rimesso con due caselle e spechiera in due portelle.
1 scrittorio di rimesso.
1 armeretto con portelle e sotto zatte che serve per scriver.
1 armer all'inglese rosso che serve per letto da servitor.
1 spechio con soazza doratta.
4 quadri con spechio con soazza doratta.
Soazze intorno il fornimento con filetto cremese.

Terza camera da letto.

N. 26 telli di rasetto cremese con striche bianche e lattesine.
1 sopraporta di rasetto simille.
10 poltroncine dipinte con filetto cremese con cussini e sguazaroni di rasetto simille.

N. 1 tavolinetto con quattro zatte dipinto con coperchio di tavola finta pietra.
1 orologgio da tavolin.
1 comò di rimesso.
7 coltrine di cendà bianco.
1 letto di nogara con 3 stramazzi, un capezal e 9 cusini.
1 arcova di rasetto, o sia padiglion con copertor tutto di rasetto simille fodratto di cendà bianco.
Soazze doratte intorno il fornimento.

Quarta camera con foger.

N. 16 telli di tella stampate a porzelana.
1 portiera divisa in due telli di tella simille con galon.
3 sottobalconi in tella simille.
3 coltrine divise in sei di tella simille.
1 armer di rimesso con tre caselle e sotto 4 zatte.
1 tavolin picolo di rimesso che si apre con sotto 4 zatte.
7 scagnetti dipinti a porzelana con sentar di canadindia.
2 canapè dipinti simili con sentar di canadindia.
1 giridon per tener il cadin.
Cadin n. 1, brocca n. 1, saponetta con coperchio tutto d'argento.
1 spechiera sopra il camin con soazze doratte con picolo frontespizio con 4 brazaletti di cristal.
3 quadri con soazze doratte con figure e spechi.
1 fornimento da foger, cioè schenal di ferro, n. 2 cavioni, una moletta, una paletta e un follo, tutto con pomoli d'otton.
1 guantiera grande di vernise con figure.
Soazze doratte intorno al fornimento.

Quinta camera.

N. 16 telli di tella stampata a piastrelli.
2 canapè di nogara, uno grande e l'altro piccolo, coperti di tella stampata simille.
1 poltroncina di nogara con sentar e schenal di tella stampata simille con galon.
1 scagnetto di nogara con sentar di tella stampata simille galonato.
1 cantonaletto di rimesso da taccar al muro con chiave.
1 stramazetto grande e n. 3 cussini lunghi che serve per canapè, coperti tutti di tella stampata simille.
1 scalin lungo d'albeo dipinto.
1 lume d'otton grande con 4 lumi e bandaruola.
2 candelieretti o sia buzie d'argento.
1 scagnetto dipinto a porzelana con sentar di canadindia.
1 cesta fodratta di setta cremese per drappi.
1 ritratto della fu K^a sposa con soazze doratte e spechio.
Soazze doratte intorno il fornimento.

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Nell'intrata.

N. 1 armeron grande per li servitori.
3 banchette d'albeo.

N. 5 careghe impagliate.
2 scanzie lunghe.
1 tavolinetto d'albeo.
1 tavola longa con sotto due canaletti.
1 feral atacato al muro.
1 pedistal grando per tener le vesti.
1 orologio todesco cantonal.
1 quadro che mostra tre figure.
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Apartamento dell'Ecc. Kr Sr Marc'Antonio. Prima camera.

N. 2 scarabattoli di rimesso con sopra intagli con portelle tutte di specchi con entro la specula e riporti con coltrine di seta verde all'inglese.
2 tavolini lunghi di rimesso sotto li medesimi.
1 canapè lungo di nogara con sentar di canadindia.
1 machina per eletrizar con tutti li fornimenti.
3 careghe di nogara con sentar di tella stampata.
2 tamburini di nogara coperti d'indiana.
2 portiere di damasco cremese.
4 coltrine di tela bianca.
Tutto attorno il fornimento soazze doratte.

Seconda camera.

N. 28 telli di damasco giallo in opera per fornimento.
2 portiere di damasco di due telli galonate di bianco.
2 bonegrazie sopra dette portiere di damasco galonate di bianco.
1 canapè grande con 5 cussini e stramazetto, tutto fodrato di damasco giallo galonato di bianco.
8 poltroncine con cussin di tutto damasco galonato di bianco.
2 coltrine di cendà giallo.
1 spechiera sopra il camin con 2 brazzaletti di cristal.
1 sotto camin con soazza dorata, fornimento, ferri per fogher.
1 scrittorio grando con caselle alle parti di rimesso.
1 armer di rimesso con tre caselle e sotto zatte.
1 tavolin di rimesso con caselle.
2 quadretti di campagna con soazze doratte.
Tutto attorno fornito con soazze doratte.

Terza camera.

N. 3 scarabattoli, due con telle del Visubio e sotto portelle dipinte, e due con specchi, e uno con remata che serve per libraria.
2 detti incassati nel muro con robbe del Visubio con soazze di rimesso e portelle con cristalli.
2 portiere verde di 2 telli con due bonegrazie fornite tutte di galon bianco.
2 careghe di nogara verde con sentar di canadindia.
1 scrittorio o sia burò rimesso di Pietro del Vesubio con due caselle e sotto zatte.
1 tavolin di rimesso all'inglese con casella.
1 detto di rimesso con sopra coperchio incassato di pietra e caselle.

N. 1 fornimento di telle imprimite con contorni a giardin dipinte.
1 mapamondo piccolo da tavolin.
1 cassetta che forma cantonal.
1 cassettina o sia busta per ventole.
1 coltrina di cendà verde.
Tutto attorno il fornimento di soazze doratte.

Quarta camera da letto.

N. 29 telli per fornimento di rasetto cremese con striche bianche e lattesine.
1 cochietta di nogara con tutto il bisognevole per letto.
1 padiglion e coperta di rasetto cremese simille.
7 poltroncine dipinte con cusini di rasetto simille.
3 scagnetti dipinti con sentar di canadindia.
1 spechio con soazza dipinta.
1 gociola d'intaglio sotto il spechio con coperchio finto pietra.
2 gociole picole dipinte.
1 cassetta attacata al muro serve per scrigno.
1 comoda di rimesso.
1 tavolinetto di rimesso che si apre in due parti.
4 coltrine di cendà bianco.
1 pilella d'argento.
1 crocefisso.
1 schioppo incassato di madreperla.
1 scagnetto per tener orinal.
Tutto fornito di soazze doratte.

Quinta camera del torno.

N. 1 torno con tutto il bisognevole.
3 scanzie intorno d'albeo fornite tutte di ferro per lavorar.
1 rodda grande.
1 fornimento di telle imprimite dipinte di sfrisi a giardin.
1 coltrina di tella bianca.
4 portiere di samito bianco galonato di galon cremese.
1 morsa e n. 1 machina per giar ferri.
4 machinette per torno.
Tutto fornito di soazze doratte.

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(Archivio Privato Mocenigo.)

B — Conto delle spese Fatte per l'Allestimento nuziale di S. E. Elisabetta Grimani in Occasione del suo Sposalizio con Don Cesare Gaetani, Principe del Cassero, nel 1769.

Nota delle spese fatte per l'allestimento di S. E. Elisabetta Grimani, 1769.

In decembre 1768.

A dì 10 xbre.	Raso a fiamma, per abito. b^sa 28 a L. 10.10 .	L.	294
11 detto.	Ritratto della sposa, spedito al principe sposo . .		187
	Podesue b^sa 9¼ per tabarro da maschera a 8.5 . .		76
14 detto.	Calze di seta para n. 2		30
15 detto.	Una manizza di volpe bianca		44
19 detto.	Poliza del sartor per la guarnizioneee fattura dell' abito di raso e per un busto		208
20 detto.	Per una bauta di merlo, galaniera e cascate . . .		187
	Per un paro di fibie di brillanti, con la giunta di L. 11 per cambiarle		52
	Capello da maschera e un'asola		26
	Guanti lunghi para 4		12
22 detto.	Monteselo fioccato b^sa 62, pagata da don Giovanni .		28
	Un paro di cascate		25
29 detto.	Pendorecchie		26
	Per il chirurgo che ha medicata la sposa all'umiltà .		16
	Al perruchiere per il mese di decembre		22
	In tutto decembre	L.	1233

In gennaro 1769.

1° detto.	Pagato a don Giovanni una poliza di spese diverse fatte per la sposa	L.	25	12
	Par scarpe para n. 2		14	
	Arrigadino pezze n. 4 prese dall'Agollo . . .		176	
7 detto.	Altro paro di cascate		25	
	Un paro di manopole di veluto guarnite di pelle .		29	
	fiori di perla		4	15
15 detto.	Tabarin di raso color di rosa, foderato di pelle, con la fattura		172	5
26 detto.	Un paro di scarpe		7	
28 detto.	Maestro di ballo e suonator		30	
	Perruchier per gennaro		22	
	Dato a S. E. Bettina per bisogni occorrenti . .		24	
31 detto.	Tela di Costanza pezze n. 3 e pezza n. 1 renso fatta venire da Verona		726	8
	Spese occorse per le medesime		17	8
	In tutto gennaro	L.	1273	13

In febraro.

17 detto.	Stoffa di seta detta casseton in opera b^sa n. 30 L. 23 . . . . . L.	690	
	Un paro di scarpe	7	
	Spese occorse per levar dal banco ducati quatromila, cioè: per il nodaro L. 44, per le acque L. 30, per quello che ha scritto l'ordine, de dato copia al fattor L. 13.15, per il contador L. 8, tre mezzi ducati perduti nel contare	111	
20 detto.	Peruvienne verdelina per abito b^sa n. 30 a L. 15, e cendà color di latte b^sa 2.2 a L. 5.10 . . .	463	15
	Cordella d'Olanda per la biancheria b^sa 250 . .	26	
	Tela di costanza detta giurin per foderar . . .	16	10
	Tela d' Olanda, detta renso, per camicie b^sa 245 a L. 6.15, e tela di Costanza b^sa 111 a L. 4, tela baston b^sa 14 a L. 7, e sessa b^sa 14 a L. 7 . .	293	15
25 detto.	Per bagnar e stirar le quattro pezze arrigadino .	8	
	Poliza di don Giov. per spighetta e merlo bionda .	32	10
28 detto.	Poliza del sartor per le spese e fattura dell'abito peruvienne	67	
	Per il maestro di ballo e suonator	30	
	Al perruchier per febraro	22	
	In tutto febraro L.	3767	10

In marzo.

4 detto.	Un paro di scarpe . . . . . L.	10	10
	Sessa striccata b^sa 10 a L. 7	70	
	Tela codonina b^sa 3.2 a L. 8	28	
	Poliza del sartor per spese e fattura dell'abito caneton	98	
	Guarnizion per il medesimo abito	220	
10 detto.	Tela cottonina finissma b^sa 2.2 a L. 12	30	
12 detto.	Seta per le calze lib. 4½ a L. 35	157	20
	Polizza di don Giov. per cordelle di filo . . .	9	4
	Al dentista per aver cavato un dente a S. E. Bettina	8	
13 detto.	Spese e fattura de cottolini e camisolini . . .	33	10
21 detto.	Due possade d'argento e due calamari guarniti d'argento	144	10
	Al sartor per il busto di balena coperto d'amuer .	140	
	Maestro di ballo e suonator	30	
	Maestro di cembalo	22	
	A. S. E. Bettina per posseder un letto, coltrine ed altri mobili provisti per la cameriera sua .	88	
28 detto.	Perruchier per marzo	22	
	In tutto marzo L.	1111	04

In aprile

1 detto.	Poliza di don Giov. di spese diverse	L.	44	
6 detto.	Brazza n. 28 di stoffa di Francia, detta chinée, a L. 9 il b^so fatta venir da Milano		252	
	Contati a don Giov. a conto delle spese di bauli e cassetto di viaggio		341	
	Tela cottonina b^sa n. 5 a L. 12		60	
11 detto.	Tela di Costanza per lensuoli di viaggio n. 23 a L. 3.10		80	
	Tela di Troes per asciugamanti di viaggio . . .		20	
	Tela dell'olmo per involti b^sa 18		19	16
13 detto.	Camelotto di seta color perla per covrir il cerchio b^sa 10.2 a L. 7.5		76	
14 detto.	Fornimento di bronda finissima accordata per zecchini 36		792	
	Mantiglia accordata		40	
	Maestro di ballo e suonator		30	
	Maestro di cembalo		22	
15 detto.	Due para di cascate, uno di merio, un altro, detro antolas, con mantiglia celeste, accordati . . .		200	
17 detto.	Camelotto bianco per andrienne b^sa 26 a L. 7.5 .		188	
20 detto.	Drappo blò celeste lavorato con argento e fiori naturali b^sa 26¼ a L. 38, accordato		997	
23 detto.	Pagata la poliza delle donne della pietà per le fatture della biancheria		394	8
	Brazza 5.2 nobiltà per tabarro a L. 9.10 . . .		52	5
24 detto.	Una guarnisione di bionda con agremani e fornimento simile, accordati		184	
	Manesini di bionda a rete, accordati		330	
	Fattura del cerchio d'osso di balena		132	
28 detto.	Fattura di para n. 19 calze di seta		108	
	Stoffa di seta, detta pechin, venuta da Milano, accordata zecchini n. 14		308	
	Un paro di scarpe		10	10
	Poliza di don Giov. di diverse spese		9	4
30 detto.	Maestro di ballo, per la seconda volta in questo mese, facendo lo venire due volte al giorno . .		30	
	Perruchier per aprile		22	
	In tuto aprile	L.	4742	13

Al di 27 aprile si ha comminciato a dar la panatica alla donna di S. E. Bettina.

In maggio.

4 detto.	Cendà camerino color rosa per foderar l'abito di pecchin b^sa 20 a L. 3	L.	60	
7 detto.	Poliza del sartor per le spese e la fattura dell'andrienne di camelotto b^o		46	
	A don Giovanni a conto della cassetta di viaggio.		100	

	Tela cottonina b^sa 2 a L. 12	24	
10 detto.	Dato a don Giov. per saldo di tutte le spese fatte per i tre bauli e la cassetta	186	7
12 detto.	Ventole n. 4 prese da Latour, accordate . . .	198	
14 detto.	Maestro di ballo	30	
	Maestro di cembalo	22	
17 detto.	Manto a fiamma per vesta di camera b^sa n. 25 a L. 7.10	180	
	Altro manto color cenerino per spolverina b^sa n. 21 a L. 7	147	
	Per un paro di scarpe	10	
18 detto.	Cordella di seta di Francia e di Padova di diversi colori b^sa 85	39	18
	Un sachetto da capelli	3	10
	Merlo di Fiandra detto mignonetto per scuffie . .	42	
	Manichetti di merlo di Fiandra para 2	88	
	Crovatini di cendà bianca para 2	7	
22 detto.	Camelotto di seta per abito di viaggio b^sa n. 20 a L. 7.15	155	
	Datto a S. E. Bettina per sue occorrenze . . .	24	
	Cordella celeste b^sa 8	2	6
27 detto.	Un brazzo di manto a fiamma per la vesta di camera	7	15
30 detto.	Fazzoletti fini da tabacco n. 12 a L. 8	96	
	Guanti para n. 22 fra lunghi e corti	51	
31 detto.	Cambrada per le scuffie di notte	2	4
	In tutto maggio	L. 1523	

In giugno.

3 detto.	Droghetto b^sa n. 15½ a L. 11	L.	167	5
	Cendà per la fodera b^sa n. 5.2 a L. 5.10 . . .		29	
3 detto.	Licenza per omettere le strille		8	
	Scarpe para n. 9 a L. 10.10		94	10
4 detto.	Maestro di ballo e suonator		30	
	Perruchiera		22	
	Maestro di cembalo		22	
5 detto.	Vino per la servitù secchi n. 3		8	10
6 detto.	Dato a S. E. Michiel per una parruca		88	
	Candele di cera n. 6, di libre 1 l'una		14	
	Poliza del vino foresto e maraschin		65	10
	Poliza del pane per tavola		5	
	Poliza delle scuffie di notte		16	10
	Poliza del cogo Rosa per il pranzo		233	16
	Buona man al medesimo ducati 6 d'argento . .		48	10
	Vera d'oro per la sposa		22	
8 detto.	Al rev piovan della parochia		44	
	Alla sacrestia		22	
	Al nonzolo		22	
	Al sago		8	

9 detto.	Guarnizion dell'abito pechin e una scuffia di viaggio		209	
	Guarnizion dell'abito con argento, e un'altra scuffia di viaggio		264	
	Per montar il fornimento di bionda finissima		94	
	Fattura e spesa del sartor per l'abito pechin, l'abito con argento, l'abito di camelotto a fiamma, dell'andrienne detta vesta da camera, e per un altro abito detto spolverina		290	
10 detto.	Guarnizion dell'abito di viaggio		154	
	Per fattura e spese del medesimo		110	
	Al ebreo per le careghe e coltrine		44	
	Al tapisier per aver agiustato l'appartamento		45	11
	Al marangon per sorzi, chiodi, soase		40	
	Poliza del caffettiere delle Rive per i rinfreschi		90	
	Al maestro di ballo e suonator		30	
	Panatiche della seconda donna di S. E. Bettina per giorni 47, principiando a 27 aprile fin a 12 di giugno		58	15
11 detto.	Poliza di d. Giov. di diverse spesette		38	3
		In tutto giugno L.	2294	12

Conto ristretto dell'impiego delle L. 18600 che formano la dote di S. E. Elizabetta Grimani, principessa del Cassero.

Per le spese occorse e pagate contanti, come dalle polizze.

Nel mese di decembre 1768	L.	1233	
Nel mese di gennaro 1769		1273	13
Nel mese di febraro		3767	10
Nel mese di marzo		1110	14
Nel mese di aprile		4742	13
Nel mese di maggio		1623	
Nel mese di giugno		2294	12
Totale	L.	15944	12
Restano	L.	2655	8

Da questo resto si diffalcano L. 930 per rimborso del pro di simile summa, pagata per conto di S. E. Michiel a Lombardi.

Restano	L.	1625	8

Questo residuo di L. 1625.8 è stato consegnato a S. E. Michiel per proprio suo uso.

Nota bene che nella summa delle spese fatte di L. 15944.12 vi sono comprese tutte le spese occorse per lo sposalizio. Vi sono inoltre comprese due polize pagate per S. E. Michiel, l'una d'un abito di droghetto di L. 167.5 e l'altra d'una perrucca di L. 88.

Nota delle mancie.

Sono stati consegnati alla sposa zecchini 100 per le mancie.
Di questa summa la sposa si è trattenuto zecchini n. 40.

Distribuzione de zecchini n. 60 che sono stati rimessi nelle mie mani.

Al fattor di casa	zecchini n. 12	
Al sotto fattor	6	
Al camerier	3	
Al cogo	3	
A tre staffieri	6	
Al sotto cogo	2	
Alle due cameriere	6	
Alla serva	2	
Alla cameriera della sig^{a} duchessa	1	
All staffier della medesima	1	
Al barcarol della medesima	1	
A due barcaroli di casa	5	
A due barcaroli di S. E. marchese S. Steffano .	4	
Alle monache di san Lorenzo zuccaro panon lib. 12, ciocolatta lib. 6, caffè lib. 4	2 e	L. 9.4
A S. E. Cattina per l'incomodo che si è preso per l'allestimento	6	
In tutto zecchini	n. 60 e	L. 9.4

Nota delle spese fatte per la sposa, le quali non sono state computate nel conto consegnato al principe sposo.

Abito di raso	L.	502	
Ritratto spedito al principe		187	
Fibie di brillanti		52	
Capello da maschera con asolo		26	
Chirurgo e dentista		24	
Diverse polize di don Giov.		126	
Spese corse per stromento e per levar ducati 4000 dal banco		111	
Denaro dato alla sposa in diversi incontri per le sue occorrenze		136	
Maestro di ballo		270	
Maestro di cembalo		66	
Perruchier		154	
Spese occorse per lo sposalizio		710	
Panatiche della seconda donna della sposa		58	15
Altre diverse spesette		12	
In tutto	L.	2435	15

Nota delle spese fatte e non computate nell'allestimento della sposa.

Abito di raso	L.	502
Ritratto della sposa		187

Fibie col cambio	52	
Capello da maschera con asolo	26	10
Chirurgo di don Giov.	16	
Poliza di diverse spesette, come polvere ed mant.	25	
Spese fatte per stromento ed altre spese nel levar il denaro dal banco	111	
Poliza di don Giov. di diverse spesette	44	
Altra polizetta	3	4
Un sacchetto	3	10
Polize delle spese occorse per lo sposalizio	702	
Maestro di ballo	270	
Perruchier	132	
Maestro di cembalo	66	
Denaro dato in diverse volte	48	
Panatiche della seconda donna	48	15
Poliza di don Giov.	38	3
In tutto	L. 2292	2

(*Raccolta del dott. Cesare Musatti.*)

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